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T HISTORY OF
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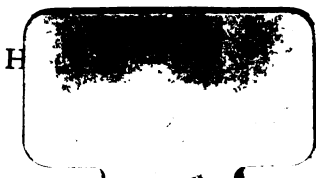
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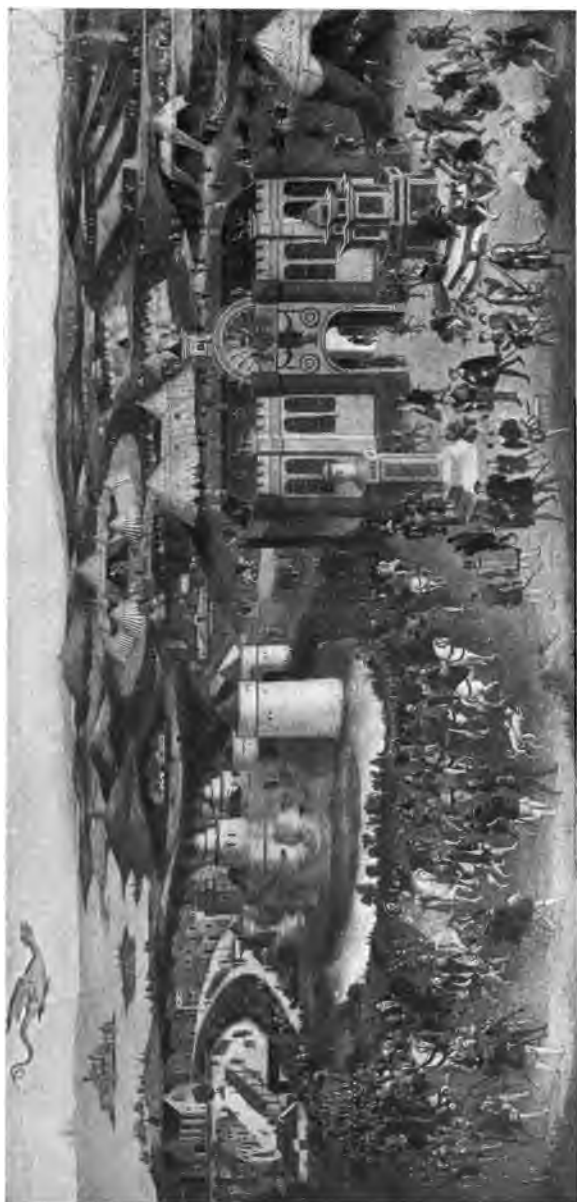
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THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD (see p. 183, n. 1)

A SHORT HISTORY OF
MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN TIMES

FOR
COLLEGES AND HIGH SCHOOLS

BY
PHILIP VAN NESS MYERS
AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF GREECE," "ROME: ITS RISE AND
FALL," AND "A GENERAL HISTORY"



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PREFACE

This volume comprises the last half of the revised text of my "General History," with such changes only as were necessary to render the book independent of the first half of that work, which part has already been published under the title of "A Short History of Ancient Times."

P. V. N. M.

COLLEGE HILL, OHIO

July, 1906

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SHORT HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN TIMES

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION: THE CHIEF FACTORS IN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

1. Preliminary Survey. — In an earlier volume we sketched briefly the affairs of men from the time when they first emerged from the obscurity of the past to the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West.¹ In the present work we propose to continue the narrative there begun and bring the story down to our own day.

The fourteen centuries of history embraced in our survey are usually conceived as forming two periods, — the *Middle Ages*, or the period lying between the fall of Rome and the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, and the *Modern Age*, which extends from the latter event to the present time. The Middle Ages again naturally subdivide into two periods, — the *Dark Ages* and the *Age of Revival*; while the Modern Age, as we shall view it, also falls into two divisions, — the *Era of the Protestant Reformation* and the *Era of the Political Revolution*.

2. Chief Characteristics of the Four Periods. — The *Dark Ages*, which embrace the years between the fall of Rome and the opening of the eleventh century, are so called for the reason that the inrush of the barbarians and the almost total eclipse of the

¹ Our *Short History of Ancient Times* practically ends with this great revolution of the fifth century of the Christian era, although in order to meet the requirements of some schools there is given in concluding chapters a brief résumé of events down to the Restoration of the Empire by Charlemagne, A.D. 800.

light of classical culture caused them to contrast unfavorably, in enlightenment and social order, as well with the age which preceded as with that which followed them. The period was one of origins, — of the beginnings of peoples, and languages, and institutions.

The *Age of Revival* begins with the opening of the eleventh century and ends with the discovery of the New World. During all this time civilization was making slow but sure advances; social order was gradually triumphing over feudal anarchy, and governments were becoming more regular. The last part of the period especially was marked by a great intellectual revival, — a movement known as the *Renaissance*, or “New Birth,” — by improvements, inventions, and discoveries which greatly stirred men’s minds and awakened them as from a sleep. The Crusades, or Holy Wars, were the most remarkable undertakings of the age.

The *Era of the Reformation* embraces the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth. The period is characterized by the great religious movement known as the Reformation, and the tremendous struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism. Almost all the wars of the period were religious wars. The last great combat was the Thirty Years’ War in Germany, which was closed by the celebrated Peace of Westphalia, in 1648. After this date the disputes and wars between parties and nations were dynastic or political rather than religious in character.

The *Era of the Political Revolution* extends from the Peace of Westphalia to the present time. The age is especially characterized by the great conflict between despotic and liberal principles of government, resulting in the triumph of democratic ideas. This is one of the most important revolutions that history records. The central event of the epoch was the terrible upheaval of the French Revolution.

Having now made a general survey of the region we are to traverse, having marked the three successive stages of the progressive course of European civilization, the intellectual, the religious, and the democratic revolution, we must turn back to our starting point, the fall of Rome.

3. Relation to World History of the Fall of Rome. — The calamity which in the fifth century befell the Roman Empire in the West is sometimes spoken of as an event marking the extinction of ancient civilization. The treasures of the Old World are represented as having been destroyed, and mankind as obliged to take a fresh start, — to lay the foundations of civilization anew. It was not so. All or almost all that was really valuable in the accumulations of antiquity escaped harm, and became sooner or later the possession of the succeeding ages. The catastrophe simply prepared the way for the shifting in the West of the scene of civilization from the south to the north of Europe, simply transferred at once political power, and gradually social and intellectual preëminence, from one race to another, — from the Roman to the Teuton.

The event was not an unrelieved calamity, because fortunately the floods that seemed to be sweeping so much away were not the mountain torrent, which covers fruitful fields with worthless drift, but the overflowing Nile with its rich deposits. Over all the regions covered by the barbarian inundation a new stratum of population was thrown down, a new soil formed that was capable of nourishing a better civilization than any the world had yet seen. Or, to use the figure of Draper, we may liken the precipitation of the northern barbarians upon the expiring Roman Empire to the heaping of fresh fuel upon a dying fire ; for a time it burns lower, and seems almost extinguished, but soon it bursts through the added fuel, and flames up with redoubled energy and ardor.

4. The Three Chief Elements of European Civilization. — We must now notice what survived the catastrophe of the fifth century, what it was that Rome transmitted to the new Teutonic race. This renders necessary an analysis of the elements of civilization.

European civilization is mainly the result of the blending of three historic elements, — the *Classical*, the *Hebrew*, and the *Teutonic*.

By the classical element in civilization is meant that whole body of arts, sciences, literatures, laws, manners, ideas, social arrangements, and models of imperial and municipal government, — everything, in a word, save Christianity, — that Greece and

Rome gave to mediæval and modern Europe. Taken together, these things constituted a valuable gift to the new northern race that was henceforth to represent civilization. It is true that the barbarian invaders of the Empire seemed at first utterly indifferent to these things; that the masterpieces of antique art were buried beneath the rubbish of sacked villas and cities, and that the precious manuscripts of the old sages and poets, because they were pagan productions and hence regarded as dangerous to Christian faith, were often suffered to lie neglected in the libraries of cathedrals and convents. Nevertheless, classical antiquity, as we shall learn, was the instructor of the Middle Ages.

By the Hebrew element in history is meant Christianity. This has been a most potent factor in modern civilization. It has so colored the life and so molded the institutions of the European peoples that their history is very largely a story of this religion, which, first going forth from Judea, was given to the younger world by the missionaries of Rome. Among the doctrines taught by the new religion were the unity of God, the brotherhood of man, and immortality, — doctrines which have greatly helped to make the modern so different from the ancient world.

By the Teutonic element in history is meant the Germanic race. The Teutons, though of course they had the social institutions and customs of a primitive people, were poor in those things in which the Romans were rich. They had neither arts, nor sciences, nor philosophies, nor literatures. But they had something better than all these things: they had personal worth. It was because of this, because of their free independent spirit, of their unbounded capacity for growth, for culture, for accomplishment, that the future time became theirs.

5. Celts, Slavs, and Other Peoples. — Having noticed the Romans and the Teutons, the two most important of the peoples that present themselves to us at the time of the fall of Rome, if we now name the Celts, the Slavs, the Arabians, and the Mongols and Turks, we shall have under view the chief actors in the drama of mediæval and of a large part of modern history.

At the commencement of the mediæval era the Celts were in front of the Teutons, clinging to the western edge of the European continent, and engaged in a bitter contest with these latter peoples, which, in the antagonism of England and Ireland, was destined to extend to our own day.

The Slavs were in the rear of the Teutonic tribes, pressing them on even as the Celts in front were struggling to resist their advance. These peoples, backward in civilization, will play only an obscure part in the transactions of the mediæval era, but in the course of the modern period will assume a most commanding position among the European nations.

The Arabians were hidden in their deserts ; but in the seventh century we shall see them, animated by a wonderful religious enthusiasm, issue from their peninsula and begin a contest with the Christian nations which, in its varying phases, was destined to fill a large part of the mediæval period.

The Mongols and Turks were buried in Central Asia. They will appear late in the eleventh century, proselytes for the most part of Mohammedanism ; and, as the religious ardor of the Semitic Arabians grows cool, we shall see the Islam standard carried forward by these zealous converts of another race, and finally, in the fifteenth century, we shall see the Crescent, the adopted emblem of the new religion, placed by the Ottoman Turks upon the dome of St. Sophia in Constantinople.

As the Middle Ages draw to a close, the remote nations of Eastern Asia will gradually come within our circle of vision ; and, as the Modern Age dawns, we shall catch a glimpse of new continents and strange races of men beyond the Atlantic.

DIVISION I — THE MIDDLE AGES

FIRST PERIOD — THE DARK AGES

(From the Fall of Rome to the Eleventh Century)

CHAPTER II

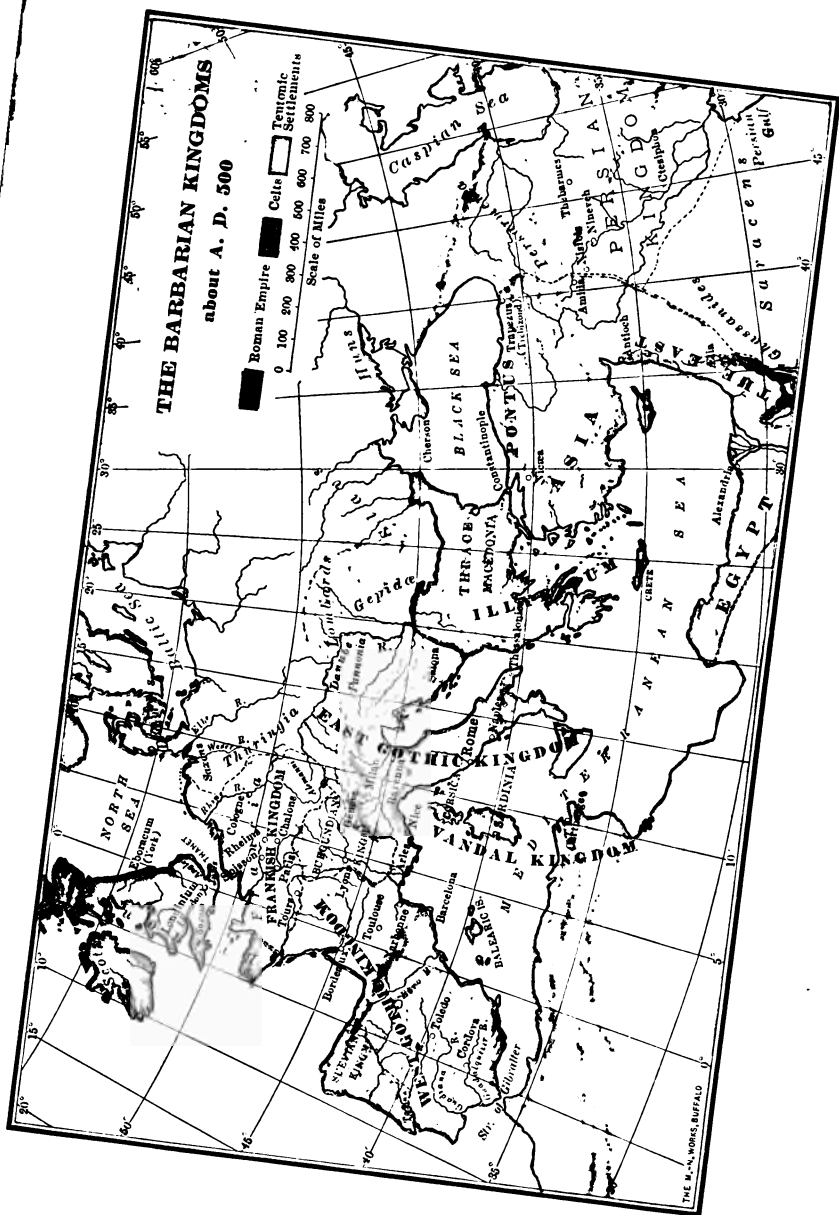
THE BARBARIAN KINGDOMS

6. Introductory. — In connection with the history of the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West we have already given some account of the migrations and settlements of the German tribes. In the present chapter we shall indicate briefly the political fortunes, for the two centuries and more following the fall of Rome, of the principal kingdoms set up by the German chieftains in the different parts of the old Empire.

7. Kingdom of the Ostrogoths (A.D. 493–554). — Odoacer will be recalled as the barbarian chief who dethroned the last of the Western Roman emperors. His feeble government in Italy lasted only seventeen years, when it was brought to an end by the invasion of the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths) under Theodoric, the greatest of their chiefs, who set up in Italy a new dominion known as the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

The reign of Theodoric covered thirty-three years (A.D. 493–527), — years of such quiet and prosperity as Italy had not known since the happy era of the Antonines. The king made good his promise that his reign should be such that “the only regret of the people should be that the Goths had not come at an earlier period.”

The kingdom established by the rare abilities of Theodoric lasted only twenty-seven years after his death. Justinian, Emperor of the East (sec. 41), taking advantage of that event, sent his generals, first Belisarius and afterwards Narses, to deliver Italy



from the rule of the barbarians. The last of the Ostrogothic kings fell in battle, and Italy, with her fields ravaged and her cities in ruins, was reunited to the Empire (A.D. 554).

8. Kingdom of the Visigoths (A.D. 415-711). — The Visigoths (Western Goths) were already in possession of Southern Gaul and the greater part of Spain when the Roman Empire in the West was brought to an end by the act of Odoacer and his companions. Being driven south of the Pyrenees by the kings of the Franks, the Visigoths held their possessions in Spain until the beginning of the eighth century, when their rule was ended by the Saracens (sec. 55). The Visigothic kingdom when thus overturned had lasted nearly three hundred years. During this time the conquerors had mingled with the old Romanized inhabitants of Spain, so that in the veins of the Spaniard of to-day is blended the blood of Iberian, Celt, Roman, and Teuton, together with that of the last intruder, the African Moor.

9. Kingdom of the Burgundians (A.D. 443-534). — The Burgundians were founders of a principality in Southeastern Gaul. They were hardly well established in these parts before they came in collision with the Franks on the north, and were reduced by them to a state of dependence.

10. Kingdom of the Vandals (A.D. 429-533). — About half a century before the fall of Rome the Vandals set up a kingdom in North Africa. These barbarians were the most brutal and fierce of all the German tribes. Their very name has passed into history as the synonym of wanton destruction and violence.

Being Arian Christians, the Vandals persecuted with furious zeal the orthodox party. Moved by the entreaties of the African Catholics, the Byzantine emperor Justinian sent his general Belisarius to drive the barbarians from Africa. The expedition was successful, and Carthage and the fruitful fields of Africa were restored to the Empire after having suffered the insolence of the barbarian conquerors for the space of above a hundred years. The Vandals remaining in the country were gradually absorbed by the old Roman population, and after a few generations no certain trace of the barbarian invaders could be detected in the

physical appearance, the language, or the customs of the inhabitants of the African coast. The Vandal nation had disappeared ; the name alone remained.

11. The Franks under the Merovingians (A.D. 486-752). — Even long before the fall of Rome the Franks were on the soil of Gaul, laying there the foundations of the French nation and monarchy. Among their several chieftains at this time was Clovis. Upon the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West, Clovis conceived the ambition of erecting a kingdom upon the ruins of the Roman power. He attacked Syagrius, the Roman governor of Gaul, and at Soissons gained a decisive victory over his forces (A.D. 486). Thus was destroyed forever in Gaul that Roman authority established among its barbarian tribes more than five centuries before by the conquests of Julius Cæsar.

Clovis in a short time extended his authority over the greater part of Gaul, reducing to the condition of tributaries the various Teutonic tribes that had taken possession of different portions of the country. Upon his death (A.D. 511) his extensive dominions, in accordance with the ancient Teutonic law of inheritance, were divided among his four sons. About a century and a half of discord followed, by the end of which time the Merovingians¹ had become so feeble and inefficient that they were contemptuously called *rois fainéants*, or "do-nothing kings," and an ambitious officer of the crown, known as Mayor of the Palace, in a way that will be explained a little later, pushed aside the weak Merovingian king and gave to the Frankish monarchy a new royal line, — the Carolingian.

12. Kingdom of the Lombards (A.D. 568-774). — Barely a decade had passed after the recovery of Italy from the Ostrogoths by the Eastern emperor Justinian (sec. 7), before a large part of the peninsula was again lost to the Empire through its conquest by another barbarian tribe known as the Lombards. When they entered Italy the Lombards were Christians of the Arian sect ; but in time they became converts to the orthodox faith, and Pope

¹ So called from Merowig, an early chieftain of the race.

Gregory I bestowed upon their king a diadem which came to be known as the "Iron Crown," for the reason that there was wrought into it what was believed to be one of the nails of the cross upon which Christ had suffered.

The Kingdom of the Lombards was destroyed by Charles the Great, the most noted of the Frankish rulers, in the year 774 ; but the blood of the invaders had by this time become intermingled with that of the former subjects of the Empire, so that throughout all that part of the peninsula which is still called Lombardy after them, one will to-day occasionally see the fair hair and light complexion which reveal the strain of German blood in the veins of the present inhabitants.

13. The Anglo-Saxon Conquest of Britain. — In the fifth century of our era, being then engaged in her death struggle with the barbarians, Rome withdrew her legions from Britain in order to protect Italy. Thus that province was left exposed to the depredations of the Anglo-Saxon corsairs from the Continent. No other province of the Roman Empire made such determined and heroic resistance against the barbarians. It is to this period of desperate struggle that the famous King Arthur belongs. The legends that have gathered about the name of this national hero are mostly mythical ; yet it is possible that he had a real existence and that the name represents one or more of the most valiant of the Celtic chiefs who battled so long and heroically against the pagan invaders.

The conquerors of Britain belonged to three Teutonic tribes, — the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, — but among the Celts they all passed under the name of Saxons, and among themselves, after they began to draw together into a single nation, under that of Angles, whence the name England (Angle-land).

By the close of the sixth century the invading bands had set up in the conquered parts of the island eight or nine, or perhaps more, kingdoms, — frequently designated, though somewhat inaccurately, as the *Heptarchy*. For the space of two hundred years there was an almost perpetual strife for supremacy among the leading states. Finally, Egbert, king of Wessex (A.D. 802-839),

brought all the other kingdoms to a subject or tributary condition, and became in reality, though he seems never, save on one occasion, to have actually assumed the title, the first king of England.

14. Teutonic Tribes outside the Empire.—We have now spoken of the most important of the Teutonic tribes which forced themselves within the limits of the Roman Empire in the West, and that there, upon the ruins of the civilization they had overthrown, laid or helped to lay the foundations of the modern nations of Italy, Spain, France, and England. Beyond the boundaries of the old Empire were still other tribes and clans of this same mighty family of nations, — tribes and clans that were destined to play great parts in European history.

On the east, beyond the Rhine, were the ancestors of the modern Germans. Notwithstanding the immense hosts that the forests and morasses of Germany had poured into the Roman provinces, the Fatherland, in the sixth century of our era, seemed still as crowded as before the great migration began. These tribes were yet barbarians in manners, and, for the most part, pagans in religion. In the northwest of Europe were the Scandinavians, the ancestors of the modern Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. They were as yet untouched either by the civilization or the religion of Rome.

Selections from the Sources.—*The Letters of Cassiodorus* (trans. by Thomas Hodgkin). Read bk. i, letters 24 and 35; bk. ii, letters 32 and 34; bk. iii, letters 17, 19, 29, 31, and 43; bk. xi, letters 12 and 13; bk. xii, letter 20. These letters are invaluable in showing what was the condition of things in the transition period between ancient and mediæval times.

Secondary Works.—HODGKIN, T., *Italy and her Invaders* and *Theodoric the Goth*; Hodgkin is recognized as the best authority on the period of the migration. GUMMERE, F. B., *Germanic Origins*; an authoritative and interesting work on the early culture of the Germans. GIBBON, chaps. xxxviii and xxxix. CHURCH, R. W., *The Beginning of the Middle Ages*, chaps. i-v. EMERTON, E., *An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages*, chaps. vi and vii.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

I. THE CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS

15. Introductory.—The most important event in the history of the tribes that took possession of the Roman Empire in the West was their conversion to Christianity. Many of the barbarians were converted before or soon after their entrance into the Empire; to this circumstance the Roman provinces owed their immunity from the excessive cruelties which pagan barbarians seldom fail to inflict upon a subjected enemy. Alaric left untouched the treasures of the churches of the Roman Christians because his own faith was also Christian. For like reason the Vandal king Geiseric yielded to the prayers of Pope Leo the Great and promised to leave to the inhabitants of the Imperial City their lives.

16. Conversion of the Goths, Vandals, and Other Tribes.—The first converts to Christianity among the barbarians beyond the limits of the Empire were won from among the Goths. Foremost of the apostles that arose among them was Ulfilas, who translated the Scriptures into the Gothic language, omitting from his version, however, the Books of the Kings, as he feared that the stirring recital of wars and battles in that portion of the Word might kindle into too fierce a flame the martial ardor of his new converts.

What happened in the case of the Goths happened also in the case of most of the barbarian tribes that participated in the overthrow of the Roman Empire in the West. By the time of the fall of Rome the Goths, the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians had become proselytes to Christianity. They, however, professed the Arian creed, which had been condemned by the great council of the Church held at Nicæa during the reign of Constantine the Great. Hence they were regarded as heretics by the Catholic Church, and all had to be reconverted to the orthodox creed, which good work was gradually accomplished.

The remaining Teutonic tribes of whose conversion we shall speak — the Franks, the Anglo-Saxons, and the chief tribes of Germany — embraced at the outset the Catholic faith.

17. Conversion of the Franks ; Importance of this Event. — The Franks when they entered the Empire, like the Angles and Saxons when they landed in Britain, were still pagans. Christianity gained way very slowly among them until a supposed interposition by the Christian God in their behalf led the king and nation to adopt the new religion in place of their old faith. The circumstances, as reported by tradition, were these. In a terrible battle between the Alemanni and the Franks under their king Clovis, the situation of the Franks had become desperate. Then Clóvis, falling upon his knees, called upon the God of the Christians, and vowed that if he would give him the victory he would become his follower. The battle turned in favor of the Franks, and Clovis, faithful to his vow, was baptized, and with him three thousand of his warriors.

This story of the conversion of Clovis and his Franks illustrates how the belief of the barbarians in omens and divine interpositions, and particularly their feeling that if their gods did not do for them all they wanted done they had a right to set them aside and choose others in their stead, contributed to their conversion, and how the reception of the new faith was often a tribal or national affair rather than a matter of personal conviction.

"The conversion of the Franks," says the historian Milman, "was the most important event in its remote as well as its immediate consequences in European history." It was of such moment for the reason that the Franks embraced the orthodox Catholic faith, while almost all the other German invaders of the Empire had embraced the heretical Arian creed. This secured them the loyalty of their Roman subjects and also gained for them the official favor of the Church of Rome. Thus was laid the basis of the ascendancy in the West of the Frankish kings.

18. Augustine's Mission to England. — In the year A.D. 596 Pope Gregory I sent the monk Augustine with a band of forty companions to teach the Christian faith in Britain, in whose

people he had become interested through seeing in the slave market at Rome some fair-faced captives from that remote region.

The monks were favorably received by the English, who listened attentively to the story the strangers had come to tell them ; and being persuaded that the tidings were true, they burned the temples of Woden and Thor, and were in large numbers baptized in the Christian faith.¹

One of the most important consequences of the conversion of Britain was the reëstablishment of that connection of the island with Roman civil-

ization which had been severed by the calamities of the fifth century.

As Green says, — he is speaking of the embassy of St. Augustine, — “The march of the monks as they chanted their solemn litany was



FIG. 1. — THE RUINS OF IONA
(After an old drawing)

“That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona.”
— DR. JOHNSON, *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*

in one sense a return of the Roman legions who withdrew at the trumpet call of Alaric. . . . Practically Augustine's landing renewed that union with the western world which the landing of Hengist had destroyed. The new England was admitted into the older commonwealth of nations. The civilization, art, letters, which had fled before the sword of the English conquerors, returned with the Christian faith.”

19. The Conversion of Ireland ; Iona. — The spiritual conquest of Ireland was effected largely by a zealous priest named Patricius (d. about A.D. 469), better known as St. Patrick, the patron saint

¹ Read the story in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, ii, 13 (Bohn). Bede the Venerable (about A.D. 673–735) was a pious and learned Northumbrian monk, who wrote, among other works, an invaluable one entitled *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (“The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation”).

of Ireland. With such success were his labors attended that by the time of his death a great part of the island had embraced the Christian faith.

Never did any race receive the Gospel with more ardent enthusiasm. The Irish or Celtic Church sent out its devoted missionaries into the Pictish highlands, into the forests of Germany, and among the wilds of Alps and Apennines. Among the numerous religious houses founded by the Celtic missionaries was the famous monastery established A.D. 563 by the Irish monk St. Columba, on the little isle of Iona, just off the Pictish coast. Iona became a most renowned center of Christian learning and missionary zeal, and for almost two centuries was the point from which radiated light through the darkness of the surrounding heathenism.

20. The Conversion of Germany. — The great apostle of Germany was the Saxon Winfrid, better known as St. Boniface. During a long and intensely active life he founded schools and monasteries, organized churches, preached and baptized, and at last died a martyr's death (A.D. 753). Through him, as says Milman, the Saxon invasion of England flowed back upon the Continent.

The Christianizing of the tribes of Germany relieved the Teutonic folk of Western Europe from the constant peril of massacre by their heathen kinsmen, and erected a strong barrier in Central Europe against the advance of the waves of Turanian paganism and Mohammedanism which for centuries beat so threateningly against the eastern frontiers of Germany.

21. Christianity in the North. — The progress of Christianity in the North was slow; but gradually, during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the missionaries of the Church won over all the Scandinavian peoples. One important effect of their conversion was the checking of those piratical expeditions which during all the centuries of their pagan history had been constantly putting out from the fiords of the Northern peninsulas and vexing every shore to the south.

By about the year 1000 all Europe was claimed by Christianity, save the regions of the Northwest about the Baltic, which were

inhabited chiefly by the still pagan Finns and Lapps, parts of what is now Russia,² and the larger portion of the Iberian peninsula, which was in the hands of the Mohammedan Moors.

II. THE RISE OF MONASTICISM

22. Monasticism defined; the System fostered by Scripture Teachings. — It was during the period between the third and the sixth century that there grew up in the Church the institution known as Monasticism. This term, in its widest application, denotes a life of austere self-denial and of seclusion from the world, with the object of promoting the interests of the soul. As thus defined, the system embraced two prominent classes of ascetics: (1) hermits, or anchorites, — persons who, retiring from the world, lived solitary lives in desolate places; (2) cenobites, or monks, who formed communities and lived usually under a common roof.

Christian asceticism was fostered by teachings drawn from various texts of the Bible. Thus Christ himself had declared, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple";³ and, again, he had said to the rich young man, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor."⁴ These passages, and others like them, taken literally, tended greatly to confirm the belief of the ascetic that his life of isolation and poverty and abstinence was the most perfect life and the surest way to win salvation.

St. Antony, an Egyptian ascetic (b. about A.D. 251), who by his example and influence gave a tremendous impulse to the movement, is called the Father of the Hermits. But the most renowned of all the anchorites of the East was St. Simeon Stylites, the Saint of the Pillar (d. A.D. 459), who spent thirty-six years on

² The real beginning of the conversion of Russia dates from about the close of the tenth century. Its evangelization was effected by the missionaries of Constantinople, that is, of the Greek or Eastern Church.

³ Luke xiv. 26.

⁴ Matthew xix. 21.

a column only three feet in diameter at the top, which he had gradually raised to a height of over fifty feet.⁵

23. Monasticism in the West. — During the fourth century the anchorite type of asceticism, which was favored by the mild climate of the Eastern lands, and especially by that of Egypt, assumed in some degree the monastic form; that is to say, the fame of this or that anchorite or hermit drew about him a number of disciples, whose rude huts or cells formed what was known as a *laura*, the nucleus of a monastery.

Soon after the cenobite system had been established in the East it was introduced into Europe, and in an astonishingly short space of time spread throughout all the Western countries where Christianity had gained a foothold. Here it prevailed to the almost total exclusion of the hermit mode of life. Monasteries arose on every side. The number that fled to these retreats was vastly augmented by the disorder and terror attending the invasion of the barbarians and the overthrow of the Empire in the West.

24. The Rule of St. Benedict. — With the view of introducing some sort of regularity in regard to the practices and austerities of the monks, rules for their observance were early prescribed. The three essential requirements or vows were poverty, chastity, and obedience.

The greatest legislator of the monks was St. Benedict of Nursia (A.D. 480–543), the founder of the celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino, situated midway between Rome and Naples, in Italy. His code was to the religious world what the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian (sec. 41) was to the lay society of Europe. Many of his rules were most wise and practical, as, for instance, one that made manual work a pious duty, and another that required the monk to spend an allotted time each day in sacred reading.

The monks who subjected themselves to the rule of St. Benedict were known as Benedictines. The order became immensely popular. At one time it embraced about forty thousand abbeyes.

25. Services of the Monks to Civilization. — The early establishment of the monastic system in the Church resulted in great

⁵ Read Tennyson's poem, "St. Simeon Stylites."

advantages to the new world that was shaping itself out of the ruins of the old. The monks, especially the Benedictines, became agriculturists, and by patient labor converted the wild and marshy lands which they received as gifts from princes and others into fruitful fields, thus redeeming from barrenness some of the most desolate districts of Europe.

The monks also became missionaries, and it was largely to their zeal and devotion that the Church owed her speedy and signal victory over the barbarians.

The quiet air of the monasteries nourished learning as well as piety. The monks became teachers, and under the shelter of the monasteries established schools which were the nurseries of learning during the earlier Middle Ages and the homes for centuries of the best intellectual life of Europe.

The monks also busied themselves as copyists, and with great painstaking and industry gathered and multiplied ancient manuscripts, and thus preserved and transmitted to the modern world much classical learning and literature that would otherwise have been lost. They became also the chroniclers of the events of their own times, so that it is to them we are indebted for a great part of our knowledge of the early mediæval centuries. Thus the scriptorium, or writing-room of the monastery, held the place in mediæval society that the great publishing house holds in the modern world.

The monks became further the almoners of the pious and the wealthy, and distributed alms to the poor and needy. Everywhere the monasteries opened their hospitable doors to the weary, the sick, and the discouraged. In a word, these retreats were the inns, the asylums, and the hospitals of the mediæval ages.



FIG. 2. — A MONK COPYIST
(From a manuscript of the
fifteenth century)

III. THE RISE OF THE PAPACY

26. The Empire within the Empire. — Long before the fall of Rome there had begun to grow up within the Roman Empire an ecclesiastical state, which was shaping itself upon the imperial model. This spiritual empire, like the secular empire, possessed a hierarchy of officers, of which deacons, priests or presbyters, and bishops were the most important. The bishops collectively formed what is known as the episcopate. There were four grades of bishops, namely, country bishops, city bishops, metropolitans or archbishops, and patriarchs. At the end of the fourth century there were five patriarchates, that is, regions ruled by patriarchs. These centered in the great cities of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

Among the patriarchs, the patriarchs of Rome were accorded almost universally a precedence in honor and dignity. They claimed further a precedence in authority and jurisdiction. Besides the influence of great men, such as Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, and Nicholas I, who held the seat of St. Peter, there were various historical circumstances that contributed to the realization by the Roman bishops of their claim to supremacy and aided them vastly in establishing the almost universal authority of the see of Rome. In the following paragraphs we shall enumerate several of these favoring circumstances. These matters constitute the great landmarks in the rise and early growth of the Papacy.

27. The Belief in the Primacy of St. Peter and in the Founding by him of the Church at Rome. — It came to be believed that the apostle Peter had been given by the Master a sort of primacy among his fellow-apostles. This belief was fostered by the fact that Christ had intrusted that disciple with the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and had invested him with authority as a teacher and interpreter of the Word by the commission, "Feed my lambs ; . . . feed my sheep," thus giving into his charge the entire flock of the Church. It also came to be believed that Peter himself had founded the church at Rome. Without doubt he preached there and suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Nero.

These beliefs and interpretations of history, which make the Roman bishops the successors of the first of the apostles and the holders of his seat, contributed greatly, of course, to enhance their reputation and to justify their claim to a primacy of authority over all the dignitaries of the Church.

28. Advantage of their Position at the Political Center of the World. — The claims of the Roman bishops were in the early centuries greatly favored by the spell in which the world was held by the name and prestige of imperial Rome. Thence it had been accustomed to receive commands in all temporal matters; how very natural, then, that thither it should turn for command and guidance in spiritual affairs. The Roman bishops in thus occupying the geographical and political center of the world enjoyed a great advantage over all other bishops and patriarchs. The halo that during many centuries of wonderful history had gathered about the Eternal City came naturally to invest with a kind of aureole the head of the Christian bishop.

29. The Pastor as Protector of Rome. — Then, when the barbarians came, there came a propitious occasion for the Roman bishops to widen their influence and enhance their authority. Rome's extremity was their opportunity. Thus it will be recalled how mainly through the intercession of the pious Pope Leo the Great the fierce Attila was persuaded to turn back and spare the Imperial City; and how the same bishop, in the year A.D. 455, also appeased in a measure the wrath of the Vandal Geiseric and shielded the inhabitants from the worst passions of a barbarian soldiery (*Short History of Ancient Times*, secs. 443 and 444).

Thus when the emperors, the natural defenders of the capital, were unable to protect it, the unarmed Pastor was able, through the awe and reverence inspired by his holy office, to render services that could not but result in bringing increased honor and dignity to the Roman see.

30. Effects upon the Papacy of the Extinction of the Roman Empire in the West. — But if the misfortunes of the Empire in the West tended to the enhancement of the reputation and influence of the Roman bishops, much more did its final downfall tend to

the same end. Upon the surrender of the sovereignty of the West into the hands of the Emperor of the East, the bishops of Rome became the most important personages in Western Europe, and, being so far removed from the court at Constantinople, gradually assumed almost imperial powers. They became the arbiters between the barbarian chiefs and the Italians, and to them were referred for decision the disputes arising between cities, states, and kings. Especially did the bishops and archbishops throughout the West in their contests with the Arian barbarian rulers look to Rome for advice and help. It is easy to see how greatly these things tended to strengthen the authority and increase the influence of the Roman bishops.

31. The Missions of Rome. — Again, the early missionary zeal of the church at Rome made her the mother of many churches, all of whom looked up to her with affectionate and grateful loyalty. Thus the Angles and Saxons, won to the faith by the missionaries of Rome, conceived a deep veneration for the holy see and became its most devoted children. To Rome it was that the Christian Britons made their most frequent pilgrimages, and thither they sent their offering of St. Peter's pence. And when the Saxons became missionaries to their pagan kinsmen of the Continent they transplanted into the heart of Germany these same feelings of filial attachment and love.

32. Result of the Fall of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria before the Saracens. — In the seventh century all the great cities of the East fell into the hands of the Mohammedans. This was a matter of tremendous consequence for the church at Rome, since in every one of these great capitals there was, or might have been, a rival of the Roman bishop. The virtual erasure of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria from the map of Christendom left only one city, Constantinople, that could possibly nourish a rival of the Roman church. Thus did the very misfortunes of Christendom give an added security to the ever-increasing authority of the Roman prelate.

33. The Iconoclastic Controversy ; the Popes become Temporal Sovereigns. — A dispute about the use of images in worship, known

in Church history as the "War of the Iconoclasts,"⁶ which broke out in the eighth century between the Greek churches of the East and the Latin churches of the West, drew after it far-reaching consequences as respects the growing power of the Roman pontiffs.

Leo the Isaurian, who came to the throne of Constantinople in 717, was a zealous Iconoclast. The Greek churches of the East having been cleared of images, the Emperor resolved to clear also the Latin churches of the West of these symbols. To this end he issued a decree that they should not be used. The bishop of Rome not only opposed the execution of the edict, but by the ban of excommunication cut off the Emperor and the iconoclastic churches of the East from communion with the true Catholic Church. Though images — paintings and mosaics only — were permanently restored in the Eastern churches in 842, still by this time other causes of alienation had arisen, and the breach between the two sections of Christendom could not now be closed. The final outcome was the permanent separation, in the last half of the eleventh century, of the Church of the East from that of the West. The former became known as the Greek, Byzantine, or Eastern Church; the latter, as the Latin, Roman, or Catholic Church.

The East was thus eventually lost to the Roman see, but the loss was more than made good by fresh accessions of power in the West. In this quarrel with the Eastern emperors the Roman bishops formed an alliance with the Fränkish princes. We shall a little later tell briefly the story of this alliance (Chapter VII). Never did allies render themselves more serviceable to each other. The popes consecrated the Frankish chieftains as kings and emperors; the grateful Frankish kings defended the popes against all their enemies, imperial and barbarian, and dowering them with cities and provinces, laid the basis of their temporal power.⁷

⁶ Iconoclast means "image breaker."

⁷ The cause of the Roman pontiffs, from about the eighth or ninth century forward, was greatly furthered by two remarkable forged documents, known as the Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals. The probable object of the former was to justify the donation of Pippin (sec. 63) by providing evidence of a similar and earlier donation by the first imperial patron of the Church. It "tells how

Such in broad outline was the way in which grew up the Papacy, an institution which, far beyond all others, was destined to mold the fortunes and direct the activities of Western Christendom throughout the mediæval time.

Selections from the Sources. — BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History*. Read bk. i, chaps. xxiii–xxv; bk. ii, chaps. i and xiii; bk. iii, chaps. iii and xxv. *Translations and Reprints*, vol. ii, No. 7, "Life of St. Columban." HENDERSON, *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 274–314, "The Rule of Saint Benedict." See also ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. i, chap. v.

Secondary Works. — KINGSLEY, C., *The Hermits*. MONTALEMBERT, COUNT DE, *The Monks of the West*, 6 vols.; an ardent eulogy of monasticism. WISHART, A. W., *A Short History of Monks and Monasteries*; the best short account in English. JESSOPP, A., *The Coming of the Friars*, chap. iii, "Daily Life in a Mediæval Monastery." EMERTON, E., *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages*, chap. ix, "The Rise of the Christian Church," and chap. xi, "The Monks of the West." ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. vi, "The Formation of the Papacy." CARDINAL GIBBONS, *The Faith of our Fathers*, chap. ix, "The Primacy of Peter," and chap. x, "The Supremacy of the Popes"; an authoritative statement of the Catholic view of these matters. MUNRO, D. C., and SELWY, G. C., *Mediæval Civilization*, pp. 60–86 and 114–158.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Conversion of the Angles and Saxons. 2. The Life of St. Antony. 3. St. Columba and Iona. 4. Whitby. 5. St. Benedict and Monte Cassino. 6. The scriptorium of the monastery.

Constantine the Great, cured of his leprosy by the prayers of Sylvester, resolved . . . to forsake the ancient seat for a new capital on the Bosphorus, lest the continuance of the secular government should cramp the freedom of the spiritual, and how he bestowed therewith upon the Pope and his successors the sovereignty over Italy and the countries of the West." — BRYCE, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 100.

The so-called Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which appeared about the middle of the ninth century, tended to a similar end as did the Donation of Constantine, although they were originally put out in the interest of the bishops and not of the Pope. They formed part of a collection of Church documents, and included many alleged letters and edicts of the early popes. Granting their genuineness, they went to prove that the bishops of Rome in the second and third centuries exercised all that authority and extensive jurisdiction which were now being claimed by the popes of the ninth century.

In that uncritical age the documents were received by everybody as authentic. The papal party effectively quoted them in support of their largest claims for the Roman see. They are now acknowledged by all scholars, Catholic as well as Protestant, to have been forged. Laurentius Valla (1406–1457), one of the greatest of the humanists (sec. 204), was the first to demonstrate the real character of the Donation of Constantine.

CHAPTER IV

THE FUSION OF LATIN AND TEUTON

34. Introductory. — The conversion of the barbarians and the development in Western Christendom of the central authority of the Papacy prepared the way for the introduction among the northern races of the arts and the culture of Rome, and contributed greatly to hasten in Italy, Spain, and Gaul the fusion into a single people of the Latins and the Teutons, of which important matter we shall treat in the present chapter. We shall tell how these two races, upon the soil of the old Empire in the West, intermingled their blood, their languages, their laws, their usages and customs, to form new peoples, new tongues, and new institutions.

35. The Romance Nations. — In some districts the barbarian invaders and the Roman provincials were kept apart for a long time by the bitter antagonism of race, and by a sense of injury on the one hand and a feeling of disdainful superiority on the other. But for the most part the Teutonic intruders and the Latin-speaking inhabitants of Italy, Spain, and France very soon began freely to mingle their blood by family alliances.

It is quite impossible to say what proportion the Teutons bore to the Romans. Of course the proportion varied in the different countries. In none of the countries named, however, was it large enough to absorb the Latinized population; on the contrary, the barbarians were themselves absorbed, yet not without changing very essentially the body into which they were incorporated. Thus about the end of the fourth century everything in Italy, Spain, and France — dwellings, cities, dress, customs, language, laws, soldiers — reminds us of Rome. A little later and a great change has taken place. The barbarians have come in. For a time we see everywhere, jostling each other in the streets and markets, crowding each other in the theaters and courts, kneeling together in the churches, the former Romanized subjects of

the Empire and their uncouth Teutonic conquerors. But by the close of the ninth century, to speak in very general terms, the two elements have become quite intimately blended, and a century or two later Roman and Teuton have alike disappeared, and we are introduced to Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen. These we call Romance nations, because at base they are Roman.

36. The Formation of the Romance Languages. — During the five centuries of their subjection to Rome, the natives of Spain and Gaul forgot their barbarous dialects and came to speak a corrupt Latin. Now, in exactly the same way that the dialects of the Celtic tribes of Gaul and of the Celtiberians of Spain had given way to the more refined speech of the Romans did the rude languages of the Teutons yield to the more cultured speech of the Roman provincials. In the course of two or three centuries after their entrance into the Empire, Goths, Lombards, Burgundians, and Franks had, in a large measure, dropped their own tongue and were speaking that of the people they had subjected.

But of course this provincial Latin underwent a great change upon the lips of the mixed descendants of the Romans and Teutons. Owing to the absence of a common popular literature, the changes that took place in one country did not exactly correspond to those going on in another. Hence, in the course of time, we find different dialects springing up, and by about the ninth century the Latin has virtually disappeared as a spoken language, and its place has been usurped by what will be known as the Italian, Spanish, and French languages, all more or less resembling the ancient Latin, and all called Romance tongues, because children of the old Roman speech.

37. The Personal Character of the Teutonic Laws. — The laws of the barbarians were generally personal instead of territorial, as with us ; that is, instead of all the inhabitants of a given country being subject to the same laws, there were different ones for the different classes of society. The Latins, for instance, were subject in private law only to the old Roman code, while the Teutons lived under the tribal rules and regulations which they had brought with them from beyond the Rhine and the Danube.

Even among themselves the Teutons knew nothing of the modern legal maxim that all should stand equal before the law. The penalty inflicted upon the evil doer depended not upon the nature of his crime but upon his rank or that of the party injured. Thus slaves and serfs were beaten and put to death for minor offenses, while a freeman might atone for any crime, even for murder, by the payment of a fine, the amount of the penalty being determined by the rank of the victim.

38. *Ordeals*. — The agencies relied upon by the Germans to ascertain the guilt or innocence of accused persons show in how rude a state the administration of justice among them was. One very common method of proof was by what were called ordeals, in which the question was submitted to the judgment of God. Of these the chief were the *ordeal by fire*, the *ordeal by water*, and the *wager of battle*.¹

The *ordeal by fire* consisted in taking in the hand a piece of red-hot iron, or in walking blindfolded with bare feet over a row of hot plowshares laid lengthwise at irregular distances. If the person escaped unharmed, his innocence was held to be established. Another way of performing the fire ordeal was by running through the flames of two fires built close together, or by walking over live brands; hence the phrase "to haul over the coals."

The *ordeal by water* was of two kinds, by hot water and by cold. In the hot-water ordeal the accused person thrust his arm into boiling water, and if no hurt was visible upon the arm three days after the operation, the party was considered guiltless. When we speak of one's being "in hot water," we use an expression which had its origin in this ordeal.

In the cold-water trial the suspected person was thrown into a stream or pond: if he floated, he was held guilty; if he sank, innocent. The water, it was believed, would reject the guilty, but receive the innocent into its bosom. The practice common in Europe until a very recent date of trying supposed witches by

¹ The *wager of battle* is by some writers treated as a distinct form of trial; but being an appeal to the decision of Heaven, it rested on the same principle as the trials by fire and water, and consequently is properly given a place among the ordeals.

throwing them into a pond of water to see whether they would sink or float, grew out of this superstition.

The *trial by combat*, or *wager of battle*, was a solemn judicial duel. It was resorted to in the belief that God would give victory to the right. Naturally it was a favorite mode of trial among a people who found their chief delight in fighting. Even the judge in some cases resorted to it to maintain the authority and

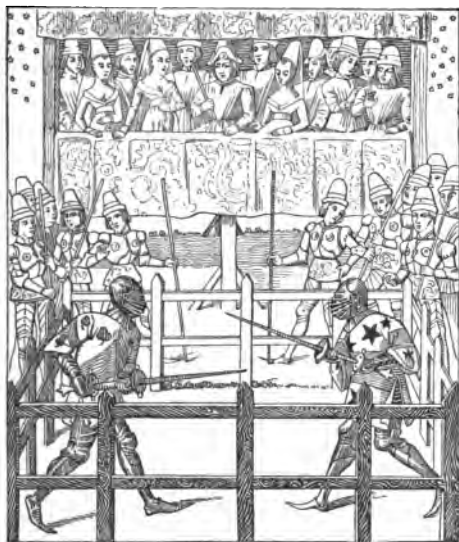


FIG. 3. — TRIAL BY COMBAT. (From a manuscript of the fifteenth century; after *Lacroix*)

dignity of his court. To a person who had disregarded a summons the judge would send a challenge in this form: "I sent for thee, and thou didst not think it worth thy while to come; I demand therefore satisfaction for this thy contempt."

The ordeal was frequently performed by deputy, that is, one person for hire or for the sake of friendship would undertake it for

another; hence the expression "to go through fire and water to serve one." Especially was such substitution common in the judicial duel, as women and ecclesiastics were generally forbidden to appear personally in the lists.

The champions, as the deputies were called, became in time a regular class in society, like the gladiators in ancient Rome. Religious houses and chartered towns hired champions at a regular salary to defend all the cases to which they might become a party.

39. **The Revival of the Roman Law.** — Now the barbarian law system, if such it can be called, the character of which we have merely suggested by the preceding illustrations, gradually displaced the Roman law in all those countries where the two systems at first existed alongside each other, save in Italy and Southern France, where the provincials greatly outnumbered the invaders. But the admirable jurisprudence of Rome was bound to assert its superiority. About the close of the eleventh century there was a great revival in the study of the Roman law as embodied in the Justinian code, and in the course of a century or two this became either the groundwork or a strong modifying element in the law systems of almost all the peoples of Europe.

What took place may be illustrated by reference to the fate of the Teutonic languages in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. As the barbarian tongues, after maintaining a place in those countries for two or three centuries, at length gave place to the superior Latin, which became the basis of the new Romance languages, so now in the domain of law the barbarian maxims and customs, though holding their place more persistently, likewise finally give way, almost everywhere and in a greater or less degree, to the more excellent law system of the Empire. Rome must fulfill her destiny and give laws to the nations.

Selections from the Sources. — HENDERSON, *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 176-189, "The Salic Law," and pp. 314-319, "*Formulae Liturgicæ* in Use at Ordeals." LEE, *Source-Book*, chap. v, "Anglo-Saxon Laws." *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 4, "Ordeals," etc.

Secondary Works. — EMERTON, E., *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chap. viii, "Germanic Ideas of Law." LEA, H. C., *Superstition and Force: Essays on the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal and Torture*; invaluable to the student of primitive culture. MUNRO, D. C., and SEL-
LERY, G. C., *Mediæval Civilization*, pp. 310-325.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The formation of the Romance languages. 2. Weregild. 3. Ordeals. 4. The influence of the Roman law upon the law systems of Europe.

CHAPTER V

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST

40. The Era of Justinian (A.D. 527-565). — During the fifty years immediately following the fall of Rome, the Eastern emperors struggled hard and sometimes doubtfully to withstand the waves of the barbarian inundation which constantly threatened to overwhelm Constantinople with the same awful calamities that had befallen the Imperial City of the West. Had the New Rome — the destined refuge for a thousand years of Græco-Roman learning and culture — also gone down at this time before the storm, the loss to the cause of civilization would have been incalculable.

Fortunately, in the year 527, there ascended the Eastern throne a prince of unusual ability, to whom fortune gave a general of such rare genius that his name has been allotted a place in the short list of the great commanders of the world. Justinian was the name of the prince, and Belisarius that of the soldier. The sovereign has given name to the period, which is called after him the "Era of Justinian."

41. Justinian as the Restorer of the Empire and "The Lawgiver of Civilization"; Calamities of his Reign. — One of the most important matters in the reign of Justinian is what is termed the "Imperial Restoration," by which is meant the recovery from the barbarians of several of the provinces of the West upon which they had seized. Africa, as we have seen (sec. 10), was first wrested from the Vandals. Italy was next recovered from the Goths and again made a part of the Roman Empire (A.D. 553). It was governed from Ravenna by an imperial officer who bore the title of Exarch. Besides recovering Africa and Italy from the barbarians, Justinian also reconquered from the Visigoths the southeastern part of Spain.

But that which gives Justinian's reign a greater distinction than any conferred upon it by the achievements of his generals was

the collection and publication by him of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the "Body of the Roman Law." This work embodied all the law knowledge of the ancient Romans, and was the most precious legacy of Rome to the world.¹ In causing its publication Justinian earned the title of "The Lawgiver of Civilization."

Although the reign of Justinian was in many respects auspicious and brilliant, still it was for the Empire a time of almost unparalleled woes and sufferings. Among the calamitous events of the period a prominent place must be given the seditions at Constantinople and the attendant destruction of property and loss of life.



THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER JUSTINIAN

The parties or factions indulging in these disorders rose out of the chariot races of the circus. These games possessed a strange and fatal fascination for the populace of the capital, such as the gladiatorial spectacles had had for the debased multitudes of Old Rome. The people became divided into two leading factions, known as the Blues and the Greens. These factions carried their rivalries into all the relations of life, political and religious. Often they indulged in unseemly disturbances in the circus, even in the presence of the Emperor himself. In the year 532 there broke out what is known as the "Nika" riot, during which a large part of the city was reduced to ashes. The mob was finally enticed

¹ See *Short History of Ancient Times*, sec. 459.

within the Hippodrome, where it was set upon by the soldiers of Belisarius and thirty-five thousand of the rioters were slain.

In the year 542 an awful pestilence, bred probably in Egypt, fell upon the Empire and did not wholly cease its ravages until about fifty years later. This plague was the most terrible scourge of which history has any knowledge, save perhaps the so-called Black Death, which afflicted Europe in the fourteenth century (sec. 159). It is believed to have carried off one third of the population of the Empire.

42. The Reign of Heraclius (A.D. 610–641).—For half a century after the death of Justinian the annals of the Eastern Roman Empire are unimportant. Then we reach the reign of Heraclius, a prince about whose worthy name gather matters of significance in world history.

About this time Chosroes II, king of Persia, wrested from the hands of the Eastern emperors the fortified cities that guarded the Euphratean frontier and overran all Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. For many years Heraclius battled heroically for the integrity of the Empire. The struggle between the two rivals was at last decided by a terrible combat known as the battle of Nineveh (A.D. 627). The Persian army was almost annihilated. Grief or violence ended the life of Chosroes. With his successor, Heraclius negotiated a treaty which restored the earlier boundaries of the Roman dominions.

A few years after this the Arabs, of whom we shall tell in the following chapter, entered upon their surprising career of conquest, which in a short time completely changed the face of the entire East. Heraclius himself lived to see—so cruel are the vicissitudes of fortune—the very provinces which he had recovered from the fire worshipers in the possession of the followers of the Arabian Prophet.

The conquests of the Arabs cut off from the Empire those provinces that had the smallest Greek element, and thus rendered the population subject to the Emperor more homogeneous, more thoroughly Greek. The Roman element disappeared, and though the government still retained the imperial character impressed

upon it by the conquerors of the world, the court of Constantinople became Greek in tone, spirit, and manners. Hence, instead of longer applying to the Empire the designation *Roman*, many historians from this on call it the *Greek* or *Byzantine* Empire.

43. Services rendered European Civilization by the Roman Empire in the East.²—The later Roman Empire rendered such eminent services to the European world that it justly deserves an important place in universal history. First, as a military outpost it held the Eastern frontier of European civilization for a thousand years against Asiatic barbarism.

Second, it was the keeper for centuries of the treasures of ancient civilization and the instructor of the new Western nations in law, in government and administration, in literature, in painting, in architecture, and in the industrial arts.

Third, it kept alive the imperial idea and principle, and gave this fruitful idea and this molding principle back to the West in the time of Charlemagne. Without the later Roman Empire of the East there would never have been a Romano-German Empire of the West (sec. 65).

Fourth, it was the teacher of religion and civilization to the Slavic races of Eastern Europe. Russia forms part of the civilized world to-day largely by virtue of what she received from New Rome.

Secondary Works.—GIBBON, chaps. xl–xliv; on the reign of Justinian. Chap. xlv deals with Roman jurisprudence. OMAN, C., *The Story of the Byzantine Empire*, chaps. iv–xi. HODGKIN, T., *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. iv, "The Imperial Restoration." RAWLINSON, G., *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, chap. xxiv. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article on Justinian by James Bryce. BURY, J. B., *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols.; a work of superior scholarship. BÉMONT, C., and MONOD, G., *Mediæval Europe*, chap. viii. HARRISON, F., *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages*; a brilliant lecture, which summarizes the results of the latest studies in the field indicated. MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Mediæval Civilization*, pp. 87–113 and 212–223.

Topics for Class Reports.—1. The recovery of Italy. 2. Belisarius. 3. Introduction into Europe of the silk industry. 4. Justinian as a builder. 5. The Code of Justinian. 6. The closing by Justinian of the schools of Athens.

² Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii, chap. xiv.

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF ISLAM

44. The Attack from the South upon Ancient Civilization. — We have seen the German barbarians of the North descend upon and wrest from the Roman Empire all its provinces in the West. We are now to watch a similar attack made upon the Empire by the Arabs of the South, and to see wrested from the emperors of the East a large part of the lands still remaining under their rule.¹

45. The Arabs. — The Arabs, or Saracens, who are now about to play their surprising part in history, are, after the Hebrews and the Phœnicians, the most important people of the Semitic race. They are divided into two distinct classes,—dwellers in towns and dwellers in tents. It is to the latter class alone that the term *Bedouins* is properly applied.

Secure in their inaccessible deserts, the Arabs have never as a nation bowed their necks to a foreign conqueror, although portions of the Arabian peninsula have been repeatedly subjugated by different invaders.

46. The Religious Condition of Arabia before Mohammed. — Before the reforms of Mohammed the Arabs were idolaters. Their holy city was Mecca. Here was the ancient and most revered shrine of the Kaaba,² where was preserved a sacred black stone that was believed to have been given by an angel to Abraham. To this Meccan shrine pilgrimages were made from the most remote parts of Arabia.

But though polytheism was the prevailing religion of Arabia, still there were in the land many followers of other faiths. The Jews especially were to be found in some parts of the peninsula in great numbers, having been driven from Palestine by the Roman persecutions. From them the Arab teachers had been

¹ The student should make a careful study of the maps after pp. 6 and 36.

² So named from its having the shape of a cube.

made acquainted with the doctrine of one sole God. From the numerous Christian converts dwelling among them they had learned something of the doctrines of Christianity. It was from the Jews and Christians, doubtless, that Mohammed learned many of the doctrines that he taught.

47. Mohammed. — Mohammed, the great Prophet of the Arabs, was born in the holy city of Mecca, probably in the year A.D. 570. He sprang from the distinguished tribe of the Koreish, the custodians of the sacred shrine of the Kaaba. In his early years he

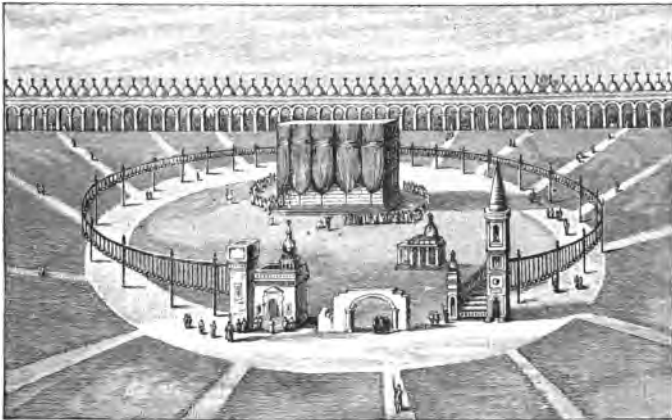


FIG. 4.— THE KAABA AT MECCA

was a shepherd and a watcher of flocks by night, as the great religious teachers Moses and David had been before him. Later he became a merchant and a camel driver.

Mohammed possessed a soul that was early and deeply stirred by the contemplation of those themes that ever attract the religious mind. He declared that he had visions in which the angel Gabriel appeared to him and made to him revelations which he was commanded to make known to his fellow-men. The starting point of the new faith which he was to teach was this: There is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet.

For a long time Mohammed endeavored to gain adherents merely by persuasion; but such was the incredulity which he

everywhere met that at the end of three years of apostolic labors his disciples numbered only forty persons.

48. The Hegira (A.D. 622). — The teachings of Mohammed at last aroused the anger of a powerful party among the Koreish, and they began to persecute him and his followers. To escape these persecutions Mohammed fled to the neighboring city of Medina. This *Hegira*, or Flight, as the word signifies, occurred A.D. 622, and was considered by the Moslems as such an important event in the history of their religion that they adopted it as the beginning of a new era, and from it still continue to reckon historical dates.

49. Mohammed at Medina ; Beginning of the Holy Wars of Islam. — At this time Medina was merely a cluster of clan villages on an oasis of the desert. Bitter feuds divided the clans, and the community was in a state of genuine Arab anarchy. Mohammed at once assumed the functions of an arbiter and law-giver. He framed for the community a remarkable charter or constitution, which united the warring clans into a little commonwealth, — the nucleus of the great Arabian Empire. His government was a theocracy, like that of ancient Israel. Mohammed was not now, as while at Mecca, simply a prophet, but a legislator, judge, and king.

As chief or king, Mohammed, like his prototype David, planned and led border raids and military campaigns. The year after the Hegira he sent out an expedition to intercept a caravan of the Koreish and to make it a prize. This was in strict accord with Arab rule and custom, for the Koreish in expelling Mohammed from Mecca and in attempting to kill him had established a state of war between him and themselves. This marauding soon led to a pitched battle (the so-called battle of Bedr, A.D. 624) between the Meccans and the followers of Mohammed, which resulted in a signal victory for the Moslems. This was the beginning of the holy wars of Islam.⁸

⁸ Mohammed about this time gave his followers the following revelation, which had great influence in securing for early Islam its remarkable military successes: "And those who are slain in God's cause, their works shall not go wrong; He . . . will make them enter into Paradise which He has told them of." — THE KORAN, sura xlvii, 5 (Palmer's trans.).

50. Capture of Mecca ; Arabia acknowledges Mohammed as a True Prophet. — In the tenth year of the Hegira, the Meccans having violated a truce which they had entered into with the new state at Medina, Mohammed at the head of an army of ten thousand Bedouins marched against Mecca and captured the city almost without a blow. The Arabian tribes now almost unanimously turned to Mohammed as a true prophet, and he who had been once rejected now became the spiritual and military head of the innumerable Arab clans, whom the intense ardor of religious enthusiasm had welded into a mighty brotherhood and nation.

The same year that marks the capture of Mecca by Mohammed marks also his death. He was buried at Medina, and his tomb there is to-day a most sacred place of pilgrimage for the Moslem world.

51. The Origin of the Koran. — Before going on to trace the conquests of the successors of Mohammed, we must try to form some idea of the religion of the great Prophet.

The doctrines of Mohammedanism, or Islam, which means "submission to God," are contained in the Koran, which is believed by the orthodox to have been written from all eternity on tablets in heaven. From time to time the apostle recited⁴ to his disciples portions of the "heavenly book" as its contents were revealed to him in his dreams and visions. These communications were held in the "breasts of men," or were written down upon bones, pieces of pottery, and the ribs of palm leaves. Soon after the death of the Prophet these scraps of writing were religiously collected, supplemented by tradition, and then arranged chiefly according to length. Thus came into existence the sacred book of Islam.

52. The Teachings of the Koran. — The fundamental doctrine of Islam is the unity of God: "There is no God save Allah" echoes through the Koran. To this is added the equally binding declaration that "Mohammed is the Prophet of Allah."

The Koran inculcates four cardinal virtues. The first of these is prayer: five times every day must the believer turn his face

⁴ Palmer in the introduction to his translation of the Koran says that it is "probable Mohammed could neither read nor write."

towards Mecca and pray. The second is almsgiving. The third is keeping the fast of Ramadan, which lasts a whole month. The fourth duty is making a pilgrimage to Mecca. Every person who can possibly do so is required to make this journey.

To the faithful the Koran promises a heaven filled with every sensual delight, with flowers and fruits and bright-eyed maidens (houris) of ravishing beauty, and threatens unbelievers and the doers of evil with the torments of a hell filled with every horror of flame and demon.⁵

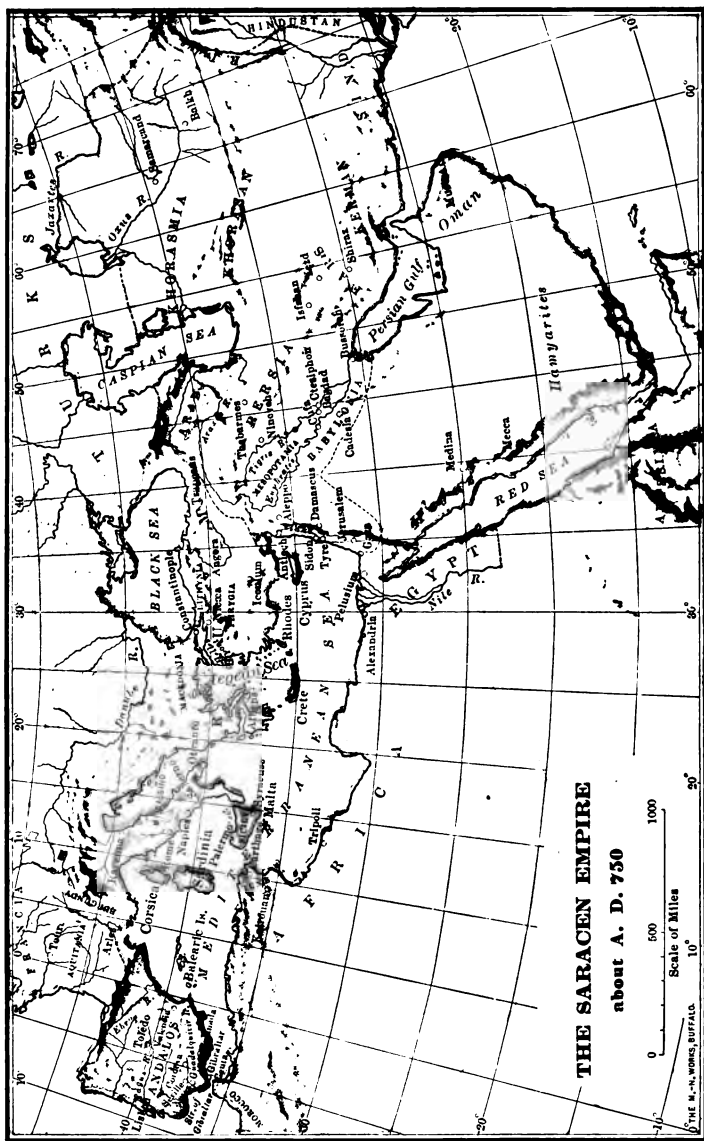
53. The Conquest of Persia, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. — For exactly one century after the death of Mohammed the caliphs or successors of the Prophet⁶ were engaged in an almost unbroken series of conquests. Persia was subjugated and the authority of the Koran was established throughout the land of the Zend-Avesta. Syria was wrested from the Eastern Roman Empire and Asia Minor was overrun. Egypt and North Africa, the latter just recently delivered from the Vandals, were also snatched from the hands of the Byzantine emperors.

By the conquest of Persia Zoroastrianism, a religion with a great past, was, as a force in history, destroyed.⁷ By the conquest of Syria the birthplace of Christianity was lost to the Christian world. By the conquest of North Africa lands whose history for a thousand years had been intertwined with that of the opposite shores of Europe, and which at one time seemed destined to share in the career of freedom and progress opening to the peoples of that continent, were drawn back into the fatalism and the

⁵ Islam is not based upon the Koran alone. It rests in part upon what is known as the *Sunna*, that is, a great body of traditions of the Prophet's sayings, — those not forming a part of the sacred book, — his actions, practices, and decisions handed down from his immediate companions.

⁶ Abu-Bekr (A.D. 632-634), Mohammed's father-in-law, was the first caliph. He was followed by Omar (A.D. 634-644), Othman (A.D. 644-655), and Ali (A.D. 655-661), all of whom fell by the hands of assassins, for from the very first dissensions were rife among the followers of the Prophet.

⁷ The number of Guebers, or fire worshipers, in Persia at the present time is about 100,000, found for the most part at Yezd and in the province of Kerman. A larger number may be counted in Western India, — the descendants of the Guebers who fled from Persia at the time of the Arabian invasion. They are there called Parsees, from the land whence they came.



THE SARACEN EMPIRE

about A. D. 750

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stagnation of the East. From being an extension of Europe they became once more an extension of Asia.

54. Attacks upon Constantinople. — Thus in only a little more than fifty years from the death of Mohammed his standard had been carried by the lieutenants of his successors through Asia to the Hellespont on the one side and across Africa to the Straits of Gibraltar on the other. We may expect to see the Saracens at one or both of these points attempt the invasion of Europe.

The first attempts were made in the East, where the Arabs repeatedly endeavored, but without success, to wrest Constantinople from the hands of the Eastern emperors. The check that the Saracens received before Constantinople was doubtless next in importance for European civilization to the check given their conquering hordes a little later in France at the great battle of Tours.

55. The Conquest of Spain (A.D. 711). — While the Moslems were thus being repulsed from Europe at its eastern extremity, the gates of the continent were opened to them — legend says by treachery — at the western, and they gained a foothold in Spain. At the great battle of Xeres (A.D. 711) the last of the Visigothic kings was hopelessly defeated, and all the peninsula save some mountainous regions in the northwest quickly submitted to the invaders. By this conquest some of the fairest provinces of Spain were lost to Christendom for a period of eight hundred years.

No sooner had the subjugation of the country been effected than multitudes of colonists from Arabia, Syria, and North Africa crowded into the peninsula, until in a short time the provinces of Seville, Cordova, Toledo, and Granada became predominantly Arabic in dress, manners, language, and religion.

56. Invasion of France; Battle of Tours (A.D. 732). — Four or five years after the conquest of Spain the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees and established themselves upon the plains of Gaul. This advance of the Moslem host beyond the northern wall of Spain was viewed with the greatest alarm by all Christendom. It looked as though the followers of Mohammed would soon possess all the continent. As Draper pictures it, the Crescent, lying in a

vast semicircle upon the northern shore of Africa and the curving coast of Asia, with one horn touching the Bosphorus and the other the Straits of Gibraltar, seemed about to round to the full and overspread all Europe.

In the year 732, just one hundred years after the death of the Prophet, the Franks, under their leader Charles Martel, and their allies met the Moslems upon the plains of Tours in the center of Gaul and committed to the issue of a single battle the fate of Christendom and the future course of history. The Arabs suffered an overwhelming defeat and soon withdrew behind the Pyrenees.

The young Christian civilization of Western Europe was thus delivered from an appalling danger such as had not threatened it since the fearful days of Attila and the Huns.

57. Golden Age of the Caliphate at Bagdad. — For about thirty years after the death of Mohammed, Medina continued to be the capital of the Arabian Empire; then Damascus was the seat of the government for nearly a century,⁸ after which, a new dynasty arising, a new capital, Bagdad, was founded on the Lower Tigris, in ancient Babylonia.

The golden age of the caliphate of Bagdad covered the latter part of the eighth and the ninth century of our era, and was illustrated by the reigns of such princes as Al-Mansur (A.D. 754-775) and the renowned Harun-al-Rashid (A.D. 786-809). During this period science and philosophy and literature were most assiduously cultivated by the Arabian scholars, and the court of the caliphs presented in culture and luxury a striking contrast to the rude and barbarous courts of the kings and princes of Western Christendom.

58. The Dismemberment of the Caliphate. — "At the close of the first century of the Hegira," writes Gibbon, "the caliphs

⁸ The caliphs who ruled from Damascus are known as the Ommefades. In securing their power they had caused the murder of the two sons of Ali, Hassan and Hosain. These youths were ever regarded as martyrs by the friends of the house of Ali, and the schism caused by their cruel death has never been healed. The Mohammedans of Persia, who are known as Shiahs, are the leaders of the party of Ali, while the Turks and Arabs, known as Sunnites, are the chief adherents of the opposite party.

were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe." But in a short time their extended empire, through the quarrels of sectaries and the ambitions of rival aspirants for the honors of the caliphate, was broken in fragments, and from three capitals — from Bagdad upon the Tigris, from Cairo upon the Nile, and from Cordova upon the Guadalquivir — were issued the commands of three rival caliphs, each of whom was regarded by his adherents as the sole rightful spiritual and civil successor of Mohammed. All, however, held the great Prophet in the same reverence, all maintained with equal zeal the sacred character of the Koran, and all prayed with their faces turned toward the holy city of Mecca.

59. The Civilization of Arabian⁹ Islam. — The Saracens were coheirs of antiquity with the Germans. They made especially their own the scientific⁹ accumulations of the ancient civilizations and bequeathed them to Christian Europe. These elements of civilization they added to and enriched, and in several of the countries of which they took possession, especially in Babylonia and in Spain, there developed a civilization which in some respects far surpassed any that the world had yet seen.

The Moslem law system, the basis of which is found in the Koran, is one of the most influential and widely obeyed systems of laws and regulations that any race or civilization has developed. Since the system embraces religious as well as civil matters, it is in some respects like the Mosaic code, from which it freely borrowed.

In the lighter forms of literature — romance and poetry — the Arabs produced much that possesses a high degree of excellence. The inimitable tales of the *Arabian Nights*, besides being a valuable commentary on Arabian life and manners at the time of the culmination of Oriental culture at the court of Bagdad, forms also an addition to the imperishable portion of the literature of the world.

The physical sciences were also pursued by the Arabian scholars with great eagerness and with considerable success. From the

⁹ Gibbon affirms that no Greek poet, orator, or historian was ever translated into Arabic. See *Decline and Fall*, chap. lii.

Greeks and the Hindus they received the germs of astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, algebra, medicine, botany, and other sciences. Almost all of the sciences that thus came into their hands were improved and enriched by them, and then transmitted to European scholars.¹⁰ They made medicine for the first time a true science. They devised and gave to Europe what is known from them as the Arabic or decimal system of notation.¹¹

All this literary and scientific activity naturally found expression in the establishment of schools, universities, and libraries. In all the great cities of the Arabian Empire, as at Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova, centuries before Europe could boast anything beyond cathedral or monastic schools, great universities were drawing together vast crowds of eager young Moslems and creating an atmosphere of learning and refinement. The famous university at Cairo, which has at the present day an attendance of several thousand students, is a survival from the great days of Arabian Islam.

In the erection of mosques and other public edifices the Arab architects developed a new and striking style of architecture, — some of the most beautiful specimens of which are preserved to us at Cordova and Granada, in Spain, — a style which has given to modern builders some of their finest models.

60. The Evil and the Good in Islam. — In some of its teachings and institutions Islam is a system unfavorable to social progress. In opposition to Christianity, it tolerates polygamy¹² and places no restraint upon divorce, thus destroying the sacredness of family life. In authorizing the faithful to make slaves of their captives in holy wars, it legalizes slavery; Mohammedan countries are the

¹⁰ What Europe received in science from Arabian sources is shown by such words as *alchemy*, *alcohol*, *alembic*, *algebra*, *alkali*, *almanac*, *azimuth*, *chemistry*, *elixir*, *zenith*, and *nadir*. To how great an extent the chief Arabian cities became the manufacturing centers of the mediæval world is indicated by the names which these places have given to various textile fabrics and other articles. Thus *muslin* comes from Mosul, on the Tigris, *damask* from Damascus, and *gauze* from Gaza. Damascus and Toledo blades tell of the proficiency of the Arab workmen in metallurgy.

¹¹ The figures or numerals, with the exception of the zero symbol, employed in their system they seem to have borrowed from India.

¹² The Koran (sura iv, 3) allows the believer to take "two, or three, or four wives, and not more." By a special dispensation (sura xxxiii, 49) Mohammed was allowed to take a larger number. At one time the Prophet had ten wives.

main strongholds of slavery at the present time. It also fosters religious intolerance ; the Moslem is forbidden by his religion to grant equality to unbelievers.

Islam, however, inculcates many inspiring truths and recommends some great virtues. Like Christianity, it teaches the unity of God, immortality, and rewards and punishments after death. These doctrines render it immeasurably superior to fetichism or to polytheism, and have made it a great force for the uplift of multitudes of idolatrous tribes in Asia and Africa.

Among the leading virtues inculcated by Islam is that of temperance. The Koran forbids positively to the believer the use of wine and inferentially of all strong drinks. To this prohibition is attributable the fact that drunkenness is less common and open in Mohammedan than in Christian lands.

Finally, in forming our estimate of Islam we should carefully bear in mind that the religion as held and practiced by many Mohammedan peoples to-day is a very degenerate form of the Islamic faith when compared with that held and practiced by the Arabs among whom it first arose. Mohammedanism, like Christianity, was at its best in what we may call its Apostolic Age.

Selections from the Sources. — The Koran is our chief source for a knowledge of Islam as a religion. The translation by Palmer, in *Sacred Books of the East*, is the best. *The Speeches and Table-Talk of the Prophet Mohammed* (trans. by Stanley Lane-Poole).

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The conquest of Egypt. 2. The caliph Harun-al-Rashid. 3. The *Arabian Nights*. 4. The Moors in Spain.

CHAPTER VII

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

61. Introductory. — We return now to the West. The Franks, who with the aid of their confederates withstood the Saracens on the field of Tours and saved Europe from subjection to the Koran, are the people that first attract our attention. Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, their king, is the imposing figure that moves amidst all the events of the times, — indeed, is the one who makes the events and renders the period an epoch in universal history.

The story of this era affords the key to very much of the subsequent history of Western Europe. The mere enumeration of the events which are to claim our attention will illustrate the important character of the period. We shall tell how the mayors of the palace of the Merovingian princes became the actual kings of the Franks; how, through the liberality of the Frankish kings, the popes laid the foundations of their temporal sovereignty; and how Charlemagne restored the Roman Empire in the West, and throughout its extended limits, in the fusion of things Roman and things Germanic, laid the basis of modern civilization.

62. How Duke Pippin became King of the Franks (A.D. 751). — Charles Martel, who saved the Christian civilization of Western Europe on the field of Tours, although the real head of the Frankish nation, was nominally only an officer of the Merovingian court (sec. 11). He died without ever having borne the title of king, notwithstanding he had exercised all the authority of that office.

But Charles' son, Pippin III, aspired to the regal title and honors. He resolved to depose his titular master and to make himself king. Not deeming it wise, however, to do this without the sanction of the Pope, he sent an embassy to represent to him

the state of affairs and to solicit his advice. Mindful of recent favors that he had received at the hands of Pippin, the Pope gave his approval to the proposed change by replying that it seemed altogether reasonable that the one who was king in reality should be king also in name. This was sufficient. Childeic — such was the name of the Merovingian king — was straightway deposed, and Pippin, whose own deeds together with those of his illustrious father had done so much for the Frankish nation and for Christendom, was crowned king of the Franks, and thus became the first of the Carolingian line, the name of his illustrious son Charles (Charlemagne) giving name to the house.

63. Pippin helps to establish the Temporal Power of the Popes (A.D. 756). — In the year A.D. 754 Pope Stephen II, troubled by the king of the Lombards, besought Pippin's aid against the barbarian. Pippin, quick to return the favor which the head of the Church had rendered him in the securing of his crown, straightway interposed in behalf of the Pope. He descended into Italy with an army, expelled the Lombards from their recent conquests, and made a donation to the Pope of the regained lands¹ (A.D. 756). As a symbol of the gift he laid the keys of Ravenna, Rimini, and of many other cities on the tomb of St. Peter.

This endowment may be regarded as having practically laid the basis of the temporal sovereignty of the popes; for although Pope Stephen, as it seems, had already resolved to cast off allegiance to the Eastern Emperor and set up an independent Church state, still it is not probable that he could have carried out such an enterprise successfully had he not been aided in his project by the Frankish king.

64. Accession of Charlemagne; his Wars. — Pippin died in the year 768, and his kingdom passed into the hands of his two sons, Carloman and Charles, the latter being better known by the name he achieved of Charlemagne, or "Charles the Great." Three years after the accession of the brothers Carloman died, and Charles took possession of his dominions.

¹ The sovereignty of all these lands belonged nominally to the Emperor at Constantinople. His claims were ignored by Pippin.

During his long reign of nearly half a century Charlemagne so extended the boundaries of his dominions that they came to embrace the larger part of Western Europe. He made over fifty military campaigns, among which were those against the Lombards, the Saracens, and the Saxons.

Among the first undertakings of Charlemagne was a campaign against the Lombards, whose king, Desiderius, was troubling the Pope. Charlemagne wrested from Desiderius all his possessions, shut up the unfortunate king in a monastery, and placed on his own head the famous "Iron Crown" of the Lombards (sec. 12).

In the year 778 Charlemagne gathered his warriors for a crusade against the Mohammedan Moors in Spain. He crossed the Pyrenees and succeeded in winning from the Moslems all the northeastern corner of the peninsula. These lands thus regained for Christendom he made a part of his dominions, under the title of the Spanish March.²

But by far the greater number of the campaigns of Charlemagne were directed against the still pagan Saxons. These people were finally reduced to permanent submission and forced to accept Charlemagne as their sovereign and Christianity as their religion.

65. Restoration of the Empire in the West (A.D. 800). — An event of seemingly little moment, yet in its influence upon succeeding affairs of the very greatest importance, now claims our attention. Pope Leo III having called upon Charlemagne for aid against a hostile faction at Rome, the king soon appeared in person at the capital and punished the disturbers of the peace of the Church. The gratitude of Leo led him at this time to make a most signal return for the many services of the Frankish king. To understand his act a word of explanation is needed.

For a considerable time a variety of circumstances had been fostering a growing feeling of enmity between the Italians and

² As Charles was leading his victorious bands back across the Pyrenees, the rear of his army, while hemmed in by the walls of the Pass of Roncesvalles, was set upon by the wild mountaineers (the Gascons) and cut to pieces before he could give relief. Of the details of this event no authentic account has been preserved; but long afterwards, associated with the fabulous deeds of the hero Roland, it formed a favorite theme of the tales and songs of the Trouveurs of Northern France (sec. 178).

the emperors at Constantinople. Just at this time, by the crime of the Empress Irene, who had deposed her son, Constantine VI, and put out his eyes that she might have his place, the Byzantine throne was vacant, in the estimation of the Italians, who contended that the crown of the Cæsars could not be worn by a woman. In view of these circumstances Pope Leo and those about him conceived the purpose of taking away from the heretical and effeminate Greeks the imperial crown and bestowing it upon some strong and orthodox and worthy prince in the West.

Now among all the Teutonic chiefs of Western Christendom there was none who could dispute in claims to the honor with the king of the Franks, the representative of a most illustrious house and the strongest champion of the young Christianity of the West against her pagan foes. Accordingly, as Charlemagne was participating in the solemnities of Christmas Day in the basilica of St. Peter at Rome, the Pope approached the kneeling king, and placing a crown of gold upon his head proclaimed him Emperor and Augustus (A.D. 800).

The intention of Pope Leo was, by a sort of reversal of the act of Constantine the Great, to bring back from the East the seat of the imperial court; but what he really accomplished was a restoration of the line of emperors in the West, which three hundred and twenty-four years before had been ended by Odoacer.

We say this was what he actually effected; for the Greeks of the East, disregarding wholly what the Roman people and the Pope had done, maintained their line of emperors just as though nothing had occurred in Italy. So now from this time on for centuries there were, most of the time, two emperors, one in the East and another in the West, each claiming to be the rightful successor of Cæsar Augustus.³

³ From this time on it will be proper for us to use the terms *Western Empire* and *Eastern Empire*. These names should not, however, be employed before this time, for the two parts of the old Roman Empire were simply administrative divisions of a single empire; but we may properly enough speak of the Roman Empire *in* the West, and the Roman Empire *in* the East, or of the Western and Eastern emperors. What it is very essential to note is, that the restoration of the line of the Western emperors actually destroyed the unity of the old Empire, so that from this time on until the destruction of the Eastern Empire in 1453, there were, as we have said in

This revival of the Empire in the West was one of the most important matters in European history. It gave to the following centuries "a great political ideal," which was the counterpart of the religious ideal of a universal Church embodied in the Papacy, and which was to shape large sections of mediæval history.

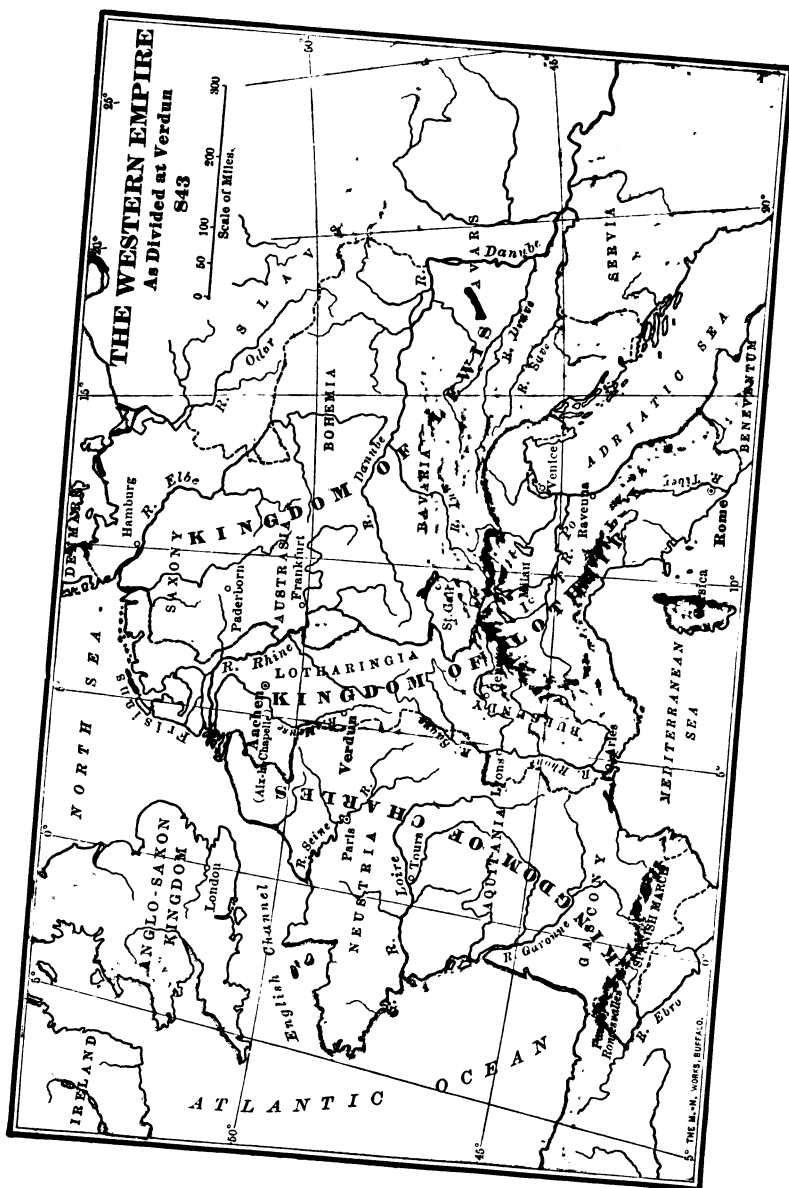
66. Charles the Great as a Ruler. — Charlemagne must not be regarded as a warrior merely. His most noteworthy work was that which he effected as a legislator and administrator. He ruled his Empire with the constant solicitude of a father. The character of his government is revealed by his celebrated Capitularies. These were not laws proper, but collections of decrees, decisions, and instructions covering matters of every kind, civil and religious, public and domestic. They show what were Charlemagne's ideas of what his chiefs or his subjects needed in the way of advice, suggestion, or command.

Charlemagne, particularly after his coronation as Emperor, exercised as careful a superintendence over religious as over civil affairs. He called synods or councils of the clergy of his dominions, presided at these meetings, and addressed to abbots and bishops fatherly words of admonition, reproof, and exhortation.

Education was also a matter to which Charlemagne gave zealous attention. He was himself from first to last as diligent a student as his busy life permitted. He never ceased to be a learner. In his old age he tried to learn to write, but found that it was too late. Distressed by the dense ignorance all about him, he labored to instruct his subjects, lay and clerical, by the establishment of schools and the multiplication and dissemination of books through the agency of the copyists of the monasteries. He invited from England the celebrated Alcuin, one of the finest scholars of the age, and with his help organized what became known as the Palace School, in which his children and courtiers and he himself were pupils.

67. The Death of Charlemagne (814); Results of his Reign. — Charlemagne enjoyed the imperial dignity only fourteen years. He

the text, two rival emperors, each in theory having rightful suzerainty of the whole world, whereas the two emperors in Roman times were the co-rulers of a single and indivisible world empire. See Bryce's *The Holy Roman Empire*.



died in 814. By the almost universal verdict of students of the mediæval period, he has been pronounced the most imposing personage that appears between the fall of Rome and the fifteenth century. His greatness has erected an enduring monument for itself in his name, the one by which he is best known,—Charlemagne.

Among the results of the reign of Charlemagne we should note at least the two following. First, he did for Germany what Cæsar did for Gaul,—brought this barbarian land within the pale of civilization and made it a part of the new-forming Romano-German world.

Second, he kneaded into something like a homogeneous mass the various racial elements composing the mixed society of the wide regions over which he ruled. Throughout his long and vigorous reign that fusion of Roman and Teuton of which we spoke in an earlier chapter went on apace. He failed indeed to unite the various races of his extended dominions in a permanent political union, but he did much to create among them those religious, intellectual, and social bonds which were never afterwards severed. From his time on, as it has been concisely expressed, there was a Western Christendom.

68. Division of the Empire; the Treaty of Verdun (843).—Like the kingdom of Alexander and that of many another great conqueror, the mighty empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces soon after his death. "His scepter was the bow of Ulysses, which could not be drawn by any weaker hand."

Charlemagne was followed by his son Lewis, surnamed the Pious (814–840). Upon his death fierce contention broke out afresh among his surviving sons, Lewis, Charles, and Lothair, and myriads of lives were sacrificed in the unnatural strife. Finally, by the famous Treaty of Verdun (843), the Empire was divided as follows: to Lewis was given the part east of the Rhine, the nucleus of the later Germany; to Charles, the part west of the Rhone and the Meuse, one day to become France; and to Lothair, the narrow central strip between these, stretching across Europe from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, and including

the rich lands of the lower Rhine, the valley of the Rhone, and the larger part of Italy. To Lothair also was given the imperial title.

This treaty is celebrated, not only because it was the first great treaty among the European states, but also on account of its marking the divergence from one another, and in some sense the origin, of two of the great nations of modern Europe, — Teutonic Germany and Romanic France. As shown by the celebrated bilingual oath of Strassburg,⁴ there had by this time grown up in Gaul, through the mixture of the provincial Latin with German elements, a new speech, which was to grow into the French tongue, — the firstborn of the Romance languages.⁵

In the year 962 a strong king of Germany, Otto the Great, again revived the Empire, which now came to be called the *Holy Roman Empire*. Respecting the great part that the idea of the Empire played in subsequent history we shall speak in a later chapter (Chapter XI).

Selections from the Sources. — EGINHARD (Einhard), *Life of the Emperor Karl the Great*. Einhard was Charles' confidential friend and secretary. "Almost all our real, vivifying knowledge of Charles the Great," says Hodgkin, "is derived from Einhard, and . . . the *Vita Caroli* is one of the most precious bequests of the early Middle Ages." *Translations and Reprints*, vol. vi, No. 5, "Selections from the Laws of Charles the Great."

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⁴ This was an oath of friendship and mutual fidelity taken by Lewis and Charles just before the Treaty of Verdun (in 842). The text of the oath has been preserved both in the old German speech and in the new-forming Romance language. It is interesting as affording the oldest existing specimens of these languages.

⁵ Compare secs. 36 and 177.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NORTHMEN: THE COMING OF THE VIKINGS

69. The Northern Folk. — Northmen, Norsemen, Scandinavians are different names applied in a general way to the early inhabitants of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. For the reason that those making settlements in England came for the most part from Denmark, the term Danes is often used with the same wide application by the English writers. These people formed the northern branch of the Teutonic family.

For the first eight centuries of our era the Norsemen are practically hidden from our view in their remote northern home ; but towards the end of the eighth century their black piratical crafts are to be seen creeping along the coasts of

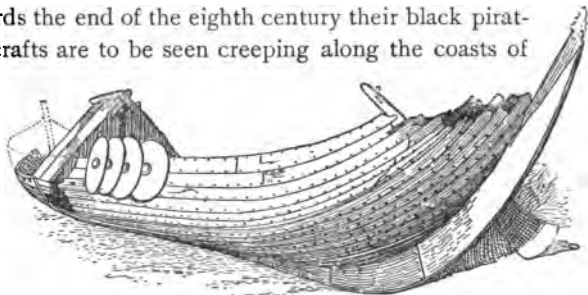


FIG. 5. — A VIKING SHIP

It was the custom of the Northmen to bury their dead sea king near the sea in his ship and over the spot to raise a great mound of earth. The boat shown in the cut was found in 1880 in a burial mound at Gokstadt, South Norway. Its length is 78 feet. From the mode of sepulture it is inferred that the mound was raised between A.D. 700 and 1000

Britain, Ireland, and Gaul, and even venturing far up the inlets and creeks. Soon all the shores of the countries visited were dotted with their stations and settlements. With a foothold once secured, fresh bands came, and the stations in time grew into permanent colonies. These marauding expeditions and colonizing enterprises did not cease till late in the eleventh century.

The most noteworthy characteristic of these Northmen is the readiness with which they laid aside their own manners, habits, ideas, and institutions, and adopted those of the country in which they established themselves. "In Russia they became Russians; in France, Frenchmen; in Italy, Italians; in England, Englishmen."

70. Colonization of Iceland and Greenland; the Discovery of America.—Iceland was settled by the Northmen in the ninth century,¹ and about a century later Greenland was discovered and colonized. In 1874 the Icelanders celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the settlement of their island, an event very like our Centennial of 1876.

America was reached by the Northmen as early as the opening of the eleventh century; the "Vinland" of their traditions was probably some part of the New England coast. Whether these first visitors to the continent ever made any settlements in the new land is a disputed question.

71. The Norsemen in Russia.—While the Norwegians were sailing boldly out into the Atlantic and taking possession of the isles and coasts of the western seas, the Swedes were pushing their crafts across the Baltic and troubling the Finns and Slavs on the eastern shore of that sea. Either by right of conquest or through the invitation of the contentious Slavonic clans, the renowned Scandinavian chieftain Rurik acquired, about the middle of the ninth century, kingly dignity, and became the founder of the first royal line of Russia.

72. The Danish Conquest of England.—The Danes began to make descents upon the English coast toward the close of the eighth century. They were not content with plunder, but, being pagans, took special delight in burning the churches and monasteries of the now Christian Anglo-Saxons, or English, as we shall

¹ Iceland became the literary center of the Scandinavian world. There grew up here a class of scalds, or bards, who, before the introduction of writing, preserved and transmitted orally the sagas, or legends, of the Northern races. About the middle of the thirteenth century these poems and legends were gathered into collections known as the *Elder or Poetic Edda* and the *Younger or Prose Edda*. These are among the most interesting and important of the literary memorials that we possess of the early Teutonic peoples. They reflect faithfully the beliefs and customs of the Norsemen, and the wild, adventurous spirit of their sea kings.

hereafter call them. In a short time fully one half of England was in their hands. Just when it began to look as though the hard-pushed English would be wholly enslaved or driven from the island by the heathen intruders, Alfred (871-901), later to be known as Alfred the Great,² came to the throne of Wessex. He finally gained some advantage over the Danes, but could not expel them from the island, and by the celebrated Treaty of Wedmore (878) gave up to them all the northeastern part of England.

For a full century following the death of Alfred his successors were engaged in a constant struggle to hold in restraint the Danes already settled in the land, or to protect their domains from fresh invasions. In the end the Danes got the mastery, and Canute, king of Denmark, became king of England (1016). For eighteen years he reigned in a wise and parental way. Altogether the Danes ruled in England about a quarter of a century, and then the old English line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor (1042).

73. Settlement of the Northmen in Gaul. — The Northmen began to make piratical descents upon the coasts of Gaul before the end of the reign of Charlemagne. The great king had been dead only thirty years when these sea rovers ascended the Seine and sacked Paris (845). At last the Carolingian king, Charles the Simple, did something very like what Alfred the Great had done across the Channel only a short time before. He granted to Rollo, the leader of the Northmen who had settled at Rouen, a large section of country in the north of Gaul, upon condition of homage and conversion (912). In a short time the newcomers had adopted the language, the manners, and the religion of the

² Alfred is the only sovereign of England on whom the title of Great has been conferred. Perhaps his best claims to this distinction spring from his work as a lawgiver and a patron of learning. The code that he made formed the basis of early English jurisprudence. Alfred also fostered learning by himself becoming a translator. Here we have the beginnings of the prose literature of England. "The mighty roll of the prose books that fill her libraries," writes Green, "begins with the translations of Alfred, and above all with the Chronicle of his reign." The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle here alluded to was a minute and chronological record of events, probably begun in *systematic form* in Alfred's reign and continued down to the year 1154. It was kept by the monks of different monasteries, and forms one of our most valuable sources for early English history.

French, and had caught much of their vivacity and impulsiveness, without, however, any loss of their own native virtues. This transformation in them we may conceive as being recorded in their transformed name,—Northmen becoming softened into Norman.

74. Normandy in French History.—The establishment of a Scandinavian settlement in Gaul proved a momentous matter, not only for the history of the French people, but for the history of European civilization as well. This Norse factor was destined to be one of the most important of all those various racial elements which on the soil of the old Gaul blended to create the richly dowered French nation. For many of the most romantic passages of her history France is indebted to the adventurous spirit of the descendants of these wild rovers of the sea. The knights of Normandy lent an added splendor to French knighthood, and helped greatly to make France the hearth of chivalry and the center of the crusading movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Nor was the influence of the incoming of the Scandinavian race felt upon French history alone. Normandy became the point of departure of enterprises that had deep and lasting consequences for Europe at large. These undertakings had for their arena England and the Mediterranean lands. Their results were so important and far-reaching that we shall devote to the narration of them a subsequent chapter (Chapter X).

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SECOND PERIOD—THE AGE OF REVIVAL

(From the Opening of the Eleventh Century to the Discovery of
America by Columbus in 1492)

CHAPTER IX

FEUDALISM AND CHIVALRY

I. FEUDALISM

75. Feudalism defined. — Feudalism is the name given to a special form of society and government, based upon a peculiar tenure of land, which prevailed in Europe during the latter part of the Middle Ages, attaining, however, its most perfect development in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

A feudal estate, which might embrace a few acres or an entire province, was called a *fief*, or *feud*, whence the term Feudalism. The person granting a fief was called the *suzerain*, *liege*, or *lord*; the one receiving it, his *vassal*, *liegeman*, or *retainer*.

76. The Ideal System. — The few definitions given above will render intelligible the following explanation of the theory of the feudal system. In theory all the kings of the earth were vassals of the Emperor, who according to good imperialists was God's vassal, and according to good churchmen, the Pope's. The kings received their dominions as fiefs to be held on conditions of loyalty to their suzerain and of fealty to right and justice. Should a king become disloyal, or rule unjustly or wickedly, through such misconduct he forfeited his fief, and it might be taken from him by his suzerain and given to another worthier liegeman.

In the same way as the king received his fief from the Emperor, so might he grant it out in parcels to his chief men, they, in return for it, promising, in general, to be faithful to him as their lord, and to serve and aid him. In like manner these immediate vassals of the king, or suzerain, might parcel out their domains in

smaller tracts to others, on conditions similar to those upon which they had themselves received theirs; and so on down through any number of stages.

We have thus far dealt only with the soil of a country. We must next notice what disposition was made of the people under this system. The king on receiving his fief was intrusted with sovereignty over all persons living upon it; he became their commander, their lawmaker, and their judge, — practically, their absolute, irresponsible ruler. Then, when he parceled out his fief among his great men, he invested them, within the limits of the fiefs granted, with all his own sovereign rights. Each vassal became a virtual sovereign in his own domain. And when these great vassals subdivided their fiefs and granted portions of them to others, they in turn invested their vassals with more or less of those powers of sovereignty with which they themselves had been clothed.¹

To illustrate the workings of the system, we will suppose the king or suzerain to be in need of an army. He calls upon his own immediate vassals for aid; these in turn call upon their vassals; and so the order runs down through the various ranks of retainers. The retainers in the lowest rank rally around their respective lords, who, with their bands, gather about their lords, and so on up through the rising tiers of the system, until the immediate vassals of the suzerain, or chief lord, present themselves before him with their graduated trains of followers. The array constitutes a feudal army, — a splendidly organized body in theory, but in fact an extremely poor instrument for warfare.

Such was the ideal feudal state. It is needless to say that the ideal was never perfectly realized. The system simply made more or less distant approaches to it in the several European countries.

77. The Ceremony of Homage. — A fief was conferred by a very solemn and peculiar ceremony called *homage*. The person

¹ The holders of small fiefs were not allowed to exercise the more important functions of sovereignty. Thus, of the estimated number of 70,000 fief holders in France in the tenth century, only between 100 and 200 possessed the right "to coin money, levy taxes, make laws, and administer their own justice."

about to become a vassal, kneeling with uncovered head, placed his hands in those of his future lord and solemnly vowed to be henceforth his man² and to serve him faithfully even with his life. This part of the procedure, sealed with a kiss, was what properly constituted the ceremony of homage. It was accompanied by an oath of fealty, and the whole was concluded by the act of investiture, whereby the lord put his vassal in actual possession of the land or, by placing in his hand a clod of earth or a twig, symbolized the delivery to him of the estate for which he had just now done homage and sworn fealty.

78. The Relations of Lord and Vassal. — In general terms the duty of the vassal was service; that of the lord, protection. The most honorable service required of the vassal, and the one most willingly rendered in a martial age, was military aid. The liegeman must always be ready to follow his lord upon his military expeditions; but the time of service for one year was usually not more than forty days. He must defend his lord in battle; if he should be unhorsed, must give him his own animal; and if he should be made a prisoner, must offer himself as a hostage for his release. He must also give entertainment to his lord and his retinue on their journeys. He was, moreover, under obligation, upon summons, to serve as juror or judge in the lord's court, and thus aid him in the settlement of disputes between his vassals.

Among other incidents attaching to a fief were what were known as *reliefs*, *escheats*, and *aids*.

A relief was the name given to the sum of money which an heir upon coming into possession of a fief must pay to the lord of the domain. This was often a large amount, being usually the entire revenue of the estate for one year.



FIG. 6. — THE CEREMONY OF HOMAGE. (From a seal of the twelfth century)

² Latin *homo*, whence "homage."

By escheat was meant the falling back of the fief into the hands of the lord through failure of heirs. If the fief lapsed through disloyalty or other misdemeanor on the part of the vassal, this was known as *forfeiture*.

Aids were sums of money which the lord had a right to demand to enable him to meet unusual expenditures, especially for defraying the expense of knighting his eldest son, for providing a marriage dower for his eldest daughter, and for ransoming his own person from captivity in case he were made a prisoner of war. The chief return that the lord was bound to make to the vassal as a compensation for these various services and rights was justice and protection, — by no means a small return in an age of turmoil and insecurity.

79. Serfs and Serfdom. — The vassals, or fief holders of various grades, constituted only a small proportion, perhaps five per cent or less, of the population of the countries where feudalism came to prevail. The great bulk of the folk were agricultural serfs.⁸ These were the men who actually tilled the soil. Just how this servile class arose is not positively known. In some countries at least they seem to have been the lineal descendants of the slaves of Roman times. Their status varied greatly from country to country and from period to period; that is to say, there came to be many grades of serfs filling the space between the actual slave and the full freeman. Consequently it is impossible to give any general account of the class which can be regarded as a true picture of their actual condition as a body at any given time. The following description must therefore be taken as reflecting their duties and disabilities only in the most general way.

The first and most characteristic feature of the condition of the serfs was that they were affixed to the soil. They could not of their own will leave the estate or manor to which they belonged ;

⁸ There were some free peasants and a larger number of free artisans and traders, inhabitants of the towns. The number of actual slaves was small. They had almost all disappeared before the end of the tenth century, either having been emancipated or having been lifted into the lowest order of serfs, which was an advance toward freedom. At the time of the great Domesday survey (sec. 95) there were, according to this record, only about 25,000 slaves in England.

nor, on the other hand, could their lord deprive them of their holdings and set them adrift. When the land changed masters they passed with it, just like a "rooted tree or stone earth-bound."

Each serf had allotted him by his lord a cottage and a number of acres of land, — thirty acres formed a normal holding, — consisting of numerous narrow strips scattered about the great open fields of the manor. For these he paid a rent, usually, during the earlier feudal times, in kind and in personal services. The personal services included a certain number of days' work, usually two or three days each week, on the demesne, that is, the land which the lord had kept in his own hands as a sort of home farm. He must furthermore grind his grain at his lord's mill, press his grapes at his wine press, bake his bread at his oven, often paying for these services an unreasonable toll.

After the serf had rendered to the lord all the rent in kind he owed for his cottage and bit of ground, the remainder of the produce from his fields was, in accordance with custom if not always with law, his own. Generally the share was only just sufficient to keep the wolf of hunger from his door.

In some countries, upon the death of the serf all that he had became in the eye of the law the property of his lord; in other lands, again, the lord could take only the best animal or the best implement of the deceased serf. This was called the *heriot*.

What we have now said will convey some idea of the nature of the relations that existed between the lord and his serf, and will indicate how servile and burdensome was the tenure by which the serf held his cottage and bit of ground. How the serf gradually freed himself from the heavy yoke of his servitude and became a freeman will appear as we advance in our narrative.

80. Development of the Feudal System. — The development of feudalism as a military system was hastened by the disturbed state of society everywhere during the greater part of the ninth and the tenth century; for after the death of Charlemagne and the partition of his empire, it appeared as though the world were again falling back into chaos. The bonds of society seemed entirely broken. Every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

To internal disorders were added the invasions of the outside barbarians ; for, no longer held in restraint by the strong arm of the great Charles, they had now begun their raids anew. From the north came the Scandinavian pirates to harry the shores of Germany, Gaul, and Britain. The terror which these pagan sea rovers inspired is commemorated by the supplication of the litany of those days : "From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us." From the east came the terrible Hungarians, and by the way of the sea on the south came an equally dreaded foe, the Saracens, who had gained a foothold in Spain and Sicily.

It was this anarchical state of things which caused all classes to hasten to enter the feudal system in order to secure the protection which it alone could afford. Kings, princes, and wealthy persons who had large landed possessions which they had never parceled out as fiefs, were now led to do so, that their estates might be held by tenants bound to protect them by all the sacred obligations of homage and fealty. Thus sovereigns and princes became suzerains and feudal lords. Again, the smaller proprietors often voluntarily surrendered their little holdings into the hands of some neighboring lord, and then received them back again from him as fiefs, that they might claim protection as vassals. They deemed this better than being robbed of their property altogether.

Moreover, for like reasons and in like manner, churches, monasteries, and cities became members of the feudal system. They granted out their vast possessions as fiefs, and thus became suzerains and lords. Bishops and abbots became the heads of great bands of retainers, and often themselves led military expeditions like temporal chiefs. On the other hand, these same monasteries and towns frequently placed themselves under the protection of some powerful lord, and thus came in vassalage to him. Sometimes the bishops and the heads of religious houses, instead of paying military service, bound themselves to say a certain number of Masses for the lord or his family.

In this way were Church and State, all classes of society from the wealthiest suzerain to the humblest vassal, bound together by feudal ties. Everything was impressed with the stamp of feudalism.

81. Castles of the Nobles. — The lawless and violent character of the times during which feudalism prevailed is well shown by the nature of the residences which the great nobles built for themselves. These were strong stone fortresses, often perched upon some rocky eminence and defended by moats and towers. France, Germany, Italy, Northern Spain, England, and Scotland, in which countries the feudal system became most thoroughly



FIG. 7.— TYPICAL MÆDIEVAL CASTLE. (From an engraving)

developed, fairly bristled with these fortified residences of the nobility. Strong walls were the only protection against the universal violence of the age.

One of the most striking and picturesque features of the landscape of many regions in Europe to-day is the ivy-mantled towers and walls of these feudal castles now falling into ruins.

82. Causes of the Decay of Feudalism. — Chief among the various causes which undermined and at length overthrew feudalism were the hostility of the kings to the system, the Crusades, the growth of the cities, and the introduction of firearms in the art of war.

The kings opposed the system and sought to break it down, because it left them only the semblance of power. We shall see later how the kings came again to their own (Chapter XVII). The

Crusades, or Holy Wars, that agitated all Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did much to weaken the power of the nobles; for in order to raise money for their expeditions they frequently sold or mortgaged their estates, and in this way power and influence passed into the hands of the kings or the wealthy merchants of the cities. Many of the great nobles also perished in battle with the infidels, and their lands escheated to their suzerain, whose domains were thus augmented.

The growth of the towns also tended to the same end. As they increased in wealth and influence, they became able to resist the exactions and tyranny of the lord in whose fief they happened to be, and eventually were able to secede, as it were, from his authority, and to make of themselves little republics.

Again, improvements and changes in the mode of warfare, especially those resulting from the use of gunpowder, hastened the downfall of feudalism by rendering the yeoman foot soldier equal to the armor-clad knight. "It made all men of the same height," as Carlyle puts it.

But it is to be carefully noted that, though feudalism as a system of government disappeared, speaking broadly, with the Middle Ages, it still continued to exist as a social organization. The nobles lost their power and authority as petty sovereigns, but retained their titles, their privileges, their social distinction, and, in many cases, their vast landed estates.

83. Defects of the Feudal System. — Feudalism was perhaps the best form of social organization that it was possible to maintain in Europe during the mediæval period; yet it had many and serious defects. Among its chief faults may be pointed out the two following.

First, it rendered impossible the formation of strong national governments. Every country was divided and subdivided into a vast number of practically independent principalities. Thus in the tenth century France was partitioned among about a hundred and fifty overlords, all exercising equal and coördinate powers of sovereignty. The enormous estates of these great lords were again subdivided into about seventy thousand smaller fiefs.

In theory, as we have seen, the holders of these petty estates were bound to serve and obey their overlords, and these great nobles were in turn the sworn vassals of the French king. But many of these lords were richer and stronger than the king himself, and if they chose to cast off their allegiance to him, he found it impossible to reduce them to obedience. The king's time was chiefly occupied in ineffectual efforts to reduce his haughty and refractory nobles to proper submission, and in intervening feebly to compose their endless quarrels with one another. It is easy to conceive the disorder and wretchedness produced by this state of things.

A second evil of the institution was its exclusiveness. Under the workings of the system society became divided into classes separated by lines which, though not impassable, were yet very rigid, with a proud hereditary aristocracy at its head. It was only as the lower classes in the different countries gradually wrested from the feudal nobility their special and unfair privileges that a better, because more democratic, form of society arose, and civilization began to make more rapid progress.

84. The Good Results of Feudalism. — The most conspicuous service that feudalism rendered European civilization was the protection which it gave to society after the break-up of the empire of Charles the Great. "It was the mailed feudal horseman and the impregnable walls of the feudal castle that foiled the attacks of the Danes, the Saracens, and the Hungarians" (Oman).

Feudalism rendered another noteworthy service to society in fostering among its privileged members self-reliance and love of personal independence. Turbulent, violent, and refractory as was the feudal aristocracy of Europe, it performed the grand service of keeping alive during the later mediæval period the spirit of liberty. The feudal lords would not allow themselves to be dealt with arrogantly by their king; they stood on their rights as freemen. Hence royalty was prevented from becoming as despotic as would otherwise have been the case. Thus, in England, for instance, the feudal lords held such tyrannical rulers as King John in check (sec. 153), until such time as the yeoman and

the burgher were bold enough and strong enough alone to stand against and to baffle their despotically inclined sovereigns.

Another of the good effects of feudalism was the impulse it gave to certain forms of polite literature. Just as learning and philosophy were fostered by the seclusion of the cloister, so were poetry and romance fostered by the open and joyous hospitalities of the baronial hall. The castle door was always open to the wandering singer and story-teller, and it was amidst the scenes of festivity within that the ballads and romances of mediæval minstrelsy and literature had their birth.

Still another service which feudalism rendered to civilization was the development within the baronial castle of those ideas and sentiments—among others a nice sense of honor and an exalted consideration for woman—which found their noblest expression in chivalry, of which institution and its good effects upon the social life of Europe we shall now proceed to speak.

II. CHIVALRY

85. Chivalry defined ; Origin of the Institution.—Chivalry has been aptly defined as the “Flower of Feudalism.” It was a military institution or order, the members of which, called knights, were pledged to the protection of the Church and to the defense of the weak and the oppressed.

The germ out of which chivalry developed seems to have been the body of vassal horsemen which Charles Martel created to repel the raids of the Saracens into Aquitaine after the battle of Tours⁴ (sec. 56). It was in these border wars that the Franks learned from the Arab Moors “to put their trust in horses.” From South France this new military system, in which mounted armor-clad warriors largely superseded the earlier foot soldiers, spread over Europe. The development was closely connected with that of feudalism; indeed, it was the military side of that

⁴ See Brunner, “Der Reiterdienst und die Anfänge des Lehnwesens” in his *Forschungen zur Geschichte des deutschen und französischen Rechtes* (Stuttgart, 1894). This important study is of the nature of a discovery respecting the beginnings, or rather the development, of the fief system and of chivalry.

development. It became the rule that all fief holders must render military service on horseback. Fighting on horseback gradually became the normal mode and for centuries remained so.

Gradually this feudal warrior caste underwent a transformation. It became in part independent of the feudal system, in so far as that had to do with the land, so that any person, if qualified by birth and properly initiated, might be a member of the order without being the holder of a fief. A great part of the later knights were portionless sons of the nobility. At the same time the religious spirit entered the order, and it became a Christian brotherhood, somewhat like the order of the priesthood.

86. Training of the Knight. — When chivalry had once become established, all the sons of the nobility, save such as were to enter the holy orders of the Church, were set apart and disciplined for its service. The sons of the poorer nobles were usually placed in the family of some lord of renown and wealth, whose castle became a sort of school, where they were trained in the duties and exercises of knighthood.

This education began at the early age of seven, the youth bearing the name of page or varlet until he attained the age of fourteen, when he acquired the title of squire, or esquire. The lord and his knights trained the boys in manly and martial duties, while the ladies of the castle instructed them in the duties of religion and in all knightly etiquette. The duties of the page were usually confined to the castle, though sometimes he accompanied his lord to the field. The esquire always attended in battle the knight to whom he was attached, carrying his arms and, if need be, engaging in the fight.

87. The Ceremony of Knighting. — At the age of twenty-one the squire became a knight, being then introduced to the order of knighthood by a peculiar and impressive service. After a long fast and vigil the candidate listened to a lengthy sermon on his duties as a knight. Then kneeling, as in the feudal ceremony of homage, before the lord conducting the services, he vowed to defend religion and the ladies, to succor the distressed, and ever to be faithful to his companion knights. His arms were now given

to him, and his sword was girded on, when the lord, striking him with the flat of his sword on the shoulders, said, "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and of St. George, I dub thee knight; be brave, bold, and loyal."

88. The Tournament. — The tournament was the favorite amusement of the age of chivalry. It was a mimic battle between two companies of knights, armed usually with pointless swords or blunted lances. In the universal esteem in which the participants



FIG. 8. — A TILTING MATCH BETWEEN TWO KNIGHTS
(From an engraving)

were held, it reminds us of the sacred games of the Greeks; while in the fierce and sanguinary character it often assumed, it recalls the gladiatorial combats of the Roman amphitheater.

89. Decline of Chivalry. — The fifteenth century was the evening of chivalry. The decline of the system resulted from the operation of the same causes that effected the overthrow of feudalism. The changes in the mode of warfare which helped to do away with the feudal baron and his mail-clad retainers likewise tended to destroy knight-errantry. And then as civilization advanced, new feelings and sentiments began to claim the attention and to work upon the imagination of men. Governments, too,

became more regular, and the increased order and security of society rendered less needful the services of the gallant knight in behalf of the weak and the oppressed.

90. The Good in Chivalry. — Chivalry contributed powerfully to lift that sentiment of respect for the gentler sex which characterized all the northern nations, into that tender veneration of woman which forms the distinguishing characteristic of the present age, and makes it differ from all preceding phases of civilization.

Again, chivalry did much to create that ideal of character — an ideal distinguished by the virtues of courtesy, gentleness, humanity, loyalty, magnanimity, and fidelity to the plighted word — which we rightly think to surpass any ever formed under the influences of antiquity. Just as Christianity gave to the world an ideal manhood which it was to strive to realize, so did chivalry hold up an ideal to which men were to conform their lives. Men, indeed, have never perfectly realized either the ideal of Christianity or that of chivalry; but the influence which these two ideals have had in shaping and giving character to the lives of men cannot be overestimated. Together, through the enthusiasm and effort awakened for their realization, they have produced a new type of manhood, which we indicate by the phrase “a knightly and Christian character.”

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FIG. 9. — LANDING IN ENGLAND OF WILLIAM OF NORMANDY
(From the Bayeux Tapestry)

CHAPTER X

THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND¹

91. Introductory. — The history of the Normans — the name, it will be recalled, of the transformed Scandinavians who settled in Northern Gaul (sec. 73) — is simply a continuation of the story of the Northmen; and nothing could better illustrate the difference between the period we have left behind and the one upon which we have entered, nothing could more strikingly exhibit the gradual transformation that has crept over the face and spirit of European society, than the transformation which time and favoring associations have wrought in these men. When first we met them in the ninth century they were pagans; now they are Christians. Then they were rough, wild, merciless corsairs; now they are become the most cultured, polished, and chivalrous people in Europe. But the restless, daring spirit that drove the Norse sea kings forth upon the waves in quest of adventure and booty still stirs in the breasts of their descendants. As has been said, they were simply changed from heathen Vikings, delighting in the wild life of sea rover and pirate, into Christian knights, eager for pilgrimages and crusades.

¹ Not long before the Normans conquered England, they succeeded in gaining a foothold in the south of Italy, where they established a feudal state, which ultimately included the island of Sicily. The fourth head of the commonwealth was the celebrated Robert Guiscard (d. 1085), who spread the renown of the Norman name throughout the Mediterranean lands. This Norman state, converted finally into a kingdom, lasted until late in the twelfth century (1194).

The most important of the enterprises of the Normans, and one followed by consequences of the greatest magnitude not only to the conquered people but indirectly to the world, was their conquest of England.

92. Events leading up to the Conquest. — In the year 1066 Edward the Confessor, in whose person, it will be recalled, the old English line was restored after the Danish usurpation (sec. 72), died, and immediately the Witan,² in accordance with the dying wish of the king, chose Harold, Earl of Wessex, the best and strongest man in all England, to be his successor.

When the news of the action of the Witan and of Harold's acceptance of the English crown was carried across the Channel to William, Duke of Normandy, he was greatly vexed. He declared that Edward, who was his cousin, had during his lifetime promised the throne to him, and that Harold had assented to this, and by solemn oath engaged to sustain him. He now demanded of Harold that he surrender to him the usurped throne, threatening the immediate invasion of the island in case he refused. King Harold answered the demand by collecting an army for the defense of his dominions. Duke William now made ready for a descent upon the English coast.

93. The Battle of Hastings (1066). — The Norman army of invasion landed in the south of England, at the port of Hastings, which place gave name to the battle that almost immediately followed, — the battle that was to determine the fate of England. It was begun by a horseman riding out from the Norman lines and advancing alone toward the English army, tossing up his sword and skillfully catching it as it fell, and singing all the while the stirring battle song of Charlemagne and Roland. The English watched with astonishment this exhibition of "careless dexterity," and if they did not contrast the vivacity and nimbleness of the Norman foe with their own heavy and clumsy manners, others at least have not failed to do so.

² The Witan, or Witenagemot, which means the "Meeting of the Wise Men," was the common council of the realm. The House of Lords of the present Parliament is a survival of this early national assembly.

The battle once joined, the conflict was long and terrific. The day finally went against the English. Harold fell, pierced through the eye by an arrow; and William was master of the field. He now marched upon London, and at Westminster, on Christmas Day, 1066, was crowned king of England.

94. The Distribution of the Land and the Gemot of Salisbury.—Almost the first act of William after he had established his power in England was to fulfill his promise to the nobles who had aided him in his enterprise, by distributing among them the forfeited estates of the English who had fought against him at Hastings. Profiting by the lesson taught by the wretched condition of France, which country was kept in a state of constant turmoil by a host of feudal lords, many of whom were almost or quite as powerful as the king himself (sec. 83), William took care that in the distribution no feudatory should receive an entire shire, save in two or three exceptional cases. To the great lord to whom he must needs give a large fief, he granted not a continuous tract of land, but several estates or manors scattered in different parts of the country, in order that there might be no dangerous concentration of property or power in the hands of the vassal.

Another equally important limitation of the power of the vassal was effected by William through his requiring all fief holders, great and small, to take an oath of fealty directly to him as overlord. This was a great innovation upon feudal custom, for the rule was that the vassal should swear fealty to his own immediate lord only, and in war follow his banner even against his own king. The oath that William exacted from every fief holder made the allegiance which he owed to his king superior to that which he owed to his own immediate lord. At the great gemot or military assembly of Salisbury in the year 1086 "all the landholders of substance in England" swore to William this solemn oath of superior fealty and allegiance.

William also denied to his feudatories the right of coining money and making laws; and by other wise restrictions upon their power saved England from those endless contentions and petty wars that were distracting almost every other country of Europe.

95. Domesday Book. — One of the most celebrated acts of the Conqueror was the making of Domesday Book. This famous book contained a description and valuation of all the lands of England, — excepting those of some counties, mostly in the north, that were either unconquered or unsettled; an enumeration of the cattle and sheep; and statements of the income of every man. It was intended, in a word, to be a perfect survey and census of the entire kingdom.

96. The Norman Successors of the Conqueror. — For nearly three quarters of a century after the death of William the Conqueror, England was ruled by Norman kings.⁸ The latter part of this period was a troublous time. The succession to the crown coming into dispute, civil war broke out. The result of the contention was a decline in the royal power, and the ascendancy of the Norman barons, who for a time made England the scene of the same feudal

anarchy that prevailed at this time upon the Continent. Finally, in 1154, the Norman dynasty gave place to that of the Plantagenets. Under Henry II (1154–1189), the first king of the new house, and an energetic and strong ruler, the barons were again brought into proper subjection to the crown, and many castles which had been built without royal permission during the

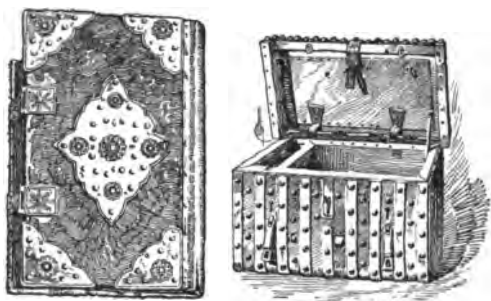


FIG. 10. — DOMESDAY BOOK. (From a facsimile edition published by royal command in 1862)

There are two large volumes of the survey, one being a folio of 760 pages and the other a large octavo of 900 pages. The strong box shown in the cut is the chest in which the volumes were formerly kept

⁸ William II, known as Rufus "the Red" (1087–1100); Henry I, surnamed Beauclerc, "the good scholar" (1100–1135); and Stephen of Blois (1135–1154). William and Henry were sons, and Stephen a grandson, of the Conqueror.

preceding anarchical period, and some of which at least were little better than robbers' dens, were dismantled and demolished.

97. Results of the Norman Conquest. — The most important and noteworthy result of the Conquest was the establishment in England of a strong centralized government. England now became a real kingdom, — what it had hardly been in more than semblance before.

A second result of the Conquest was the founding of a new feudal aristocracy. The Saxon thane was displaced by the Norman baron. This not only introduced a new and more refined element into the social life of England, but it also changed the membership, the temper, and the name of the national assembly, the old English Witan now becoming the Parliament of later times.

A third result of the Conquest was the drawing of England into closer relations with the countries of Continental Europe, by which means her advance in art, science, and general culture was greatly promoted.

Selections from the Sources. — *The Bayeux Tapestry.* (Reproduced in autotype plates with historic notes by Frank Rede Fowke, London, 1875.) This is a strip of linen canvas over two hundred feet long and nineteen inches wide, upon which are embroidered in colors seventy-two pictures, representing episodes in the Norman conquest of England. The work was executed not long after the events it depicts, and is named from the cathedral in France where it is kept. Its importance consists in the information it conveys respecting the life and manners, and the costumes, arms, and armor of the times. KENDALL, *Source-Book*, chap. iii, "Norman England."

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CHAPTER XI

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

98. The Three Theories respecting the Relations of Pope and Emperor. — After the revival of the Empire in the West and the rise of the Papacy, there gradually grew up three different theories in regard to the divinely constituted relation of the Pope and the Emperor. The first was that each was independently commissioned by God, the Pope to rule the spirits of men, the Emperor to rule their bodies. Each reigning thus by original divine right, neither is set above the other, but both are to coöperate and to help each other. The special duty of the temporal power is to maintain order in the world and to be the protector of the Church.

The second theory, the one held by the imperial party, was that the Emperor was superior to the Pope in secular affairs. Arguments from Scripture and from the transactions of history were not wanting to support this view. Thus Christ's payment of tribute money was cited as proof that he regarded the temporal power as superior to the spiritual. And then, did he not say, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's"? Further, the gifts of Pippin and Charles the Great to the Roman see made the popes, it was maintained, the vassals of the emperors.



FIG. II. — THE SPIRITUAL AND THE TEMPORAL POWER. (From a ninth-century mosaic in the Lateran at Rome)

St. Peter gives to Pope Leo III the stola and to Charlemagne the banner of Rome as symbols of the spiritual and temporal power. The portrait of Charlemagne here shown is with little doubt the oldest in existence

The third theory, the one held by the papal party, maintained that the ordained relation of the two powers was the subordination of the temporal to the spiritual authority, even in civil affairs. This view was maintained by such texts of Scripture as these: "But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man";¹ "See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant."² The conception was further illustrated by such comparisons as the following, — for in mediæval times parable and metaphor often took the place of argument: As God has set in the heavens two lights, the sun and the moon, so has he established on earth two powers, the spiritual and the temporal; but as the moon is inferior to the sun and receives its light from it, so is the Emperor inferior to the Pope and receives all power from him. Again, the two authorities were likened to the soul and the body; as the former rules over the latter, so is it ordered that the spiritual power shall rule over and subject the temporal.

The first theory was the impracticable dream of lofty souls who forgot that men are human. Christendom was virtually divided into two hostile camps the members of which were respectively supporters of the imperial and the papal theory.

99. Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) and his Reforms. — One of the most eminent supporters of the papal claims was Pope Gregory VII, better known by his earlier name of Hildebrand, the most noteworthy character, after Charlemagne, that the Middle Ages produced. In the year 1049 he was brought from the cloisters of the celebrated monastery of Cluny, in France, to Rome, where he became the maker and adviser of popes, and finally was himself elevated to the pontifical throne, which he held from 1073 to 1085.

When Gregory came to the papal throne one grave danger threatening the Church was the marriage of the clergy. At this time a great part of the minor clergy were married. Gregory

¹ 1 Corinthians ii. 15.

² Jeremiah i. 10.

resolved to bring all the clergy to the strict observance of celibate vows. By thus separating the priests from the attachments of home, and lifting from them all family burdens and cares, he aimed to render their consecration to the duties of their offices more whole-souled and their dependence upon the Church more complete. Though most obstinately opposed by a large section of the clergy, this reform was finally effected, — but not in Gregory's lifetime, — so that celibacy became as binding upon the priest as upon the monk.

Gregory's second reform, the correction of simony,³ had for one of its ultimate objects the freeing of the lands and offices of the Church from the control of lay lords and princes, and the bringing of them more completely under the direction of the Roman pontiff.

The evil of simony had grown up in the Church chiefly in the following way. As the feudal system took possession of European society, the Church, like individuals and cities, assumed feudal relations. Thus, as we have already seen, abbots and bishops, as the heads of monasteries and churches, for the sake of protection, became the vassals of powerful barons or princes. When once a prelate had promised fealty for his estates or temporalities, as they were called, these became henceforth a permanent fief of the overlord and subject to all the incidents of the feudal tenure. When a vacancy occurred the lord assumed the right to fill it, just as in case of the escheat of a lay fief.⁴ In this way the temporal rulers throughout Europe had come to exercise the right of nominating or confirming the election of almost all the great prelates of the Church.

Now these lay princes who had the patronage of these Church offices and lands handled them just as they did their lay fiefs. They required the person nominated to an abbacy or to a bishopric to pay for the appointment and investiture a sum proportioned

³ By simony is meant the purchase of an office in the Church, the name of the offense coming from Simon Magus, who offered Peter money for the power to confer the Holy Spirit. See Acts viii. 9-24.

⁴ The clergy and monks still retained the nominal right of election, but too frequently an election by them was a mere matter of form. For a typical case see sec. 120.

to the income from the office. This was in strict accord with the feudal rule which allowed the lord to demand from the vassal, upon his investiture with a fief, a sum of money called a relief (sec. 78). This rule, thus applied to Church lands and offices, was, it is easy to see, the cause of great evil and corruption. The



FIG. 12. — INVESTITURE OF A BISHOP BY A KING THROUGH THE GIVING OF THE CROSIER, OR PASTORAL STAFF. (From a manuscript of the tenth century)

ecclesiastical vacancies were virtually sold to the highest bidder, and at times the most unsuitable persons became bishops and abbots.

To remedy the evil Gregory issued decrees forbidding any one of the clergy to receive the investiture of a bishopric or abbey or church from the hands of a temporal prince or lord. Any one who should dare to disobey these decrees was threatened with the penalties of the Church.

100. Excommunications and Interdicts.—The chief instruments relied upon by Gregory for enforcing his decrees were the

spiritual weapons of the Church,— excommunication and interdict. The first was directed against individuals. The person excommunicated was cut off from all relations with his fellow-men. If a king, his subjects were released from their oath of allegiance. Any one providing the excommunicate with food or shelter incurred the penalties of the Church. Living, the excommunicated person was to be shunned as though tainted with an infectious disease; and dead, he was to be refused the ordinary rites of burial.

The interdict was directed against a city, province, or kingdom. Throughout the region under this ban the churches were closed; no bell could be rung, no marriage celebrated, no burial ceremony performed. The sacraments of baptism and extreme unction alone could be administered.

It is difficult for us in modern days to realize the effect of these bans during these early ages. They rarely failed in bringing the most contumacious offender to a speedy and abject confession, or in effecting his undoing. This will appear in the following paragraph.

101. The Investiture Contest; Emperor Henry IV's Humiliation at Canossa (1077). — It was in Germany that Gregory experienced the most formidable opposition to his reform measures. The Emperor-elect, King Henry IV (1056–1106), who had been threatened by Gregory with excommunication and deposition, gathering in council such of the prelates of the Empire as would answer his call (1076), even dared to bid him descend from the papal throne. Gregory in turn gathered a council at Rome and deposed and excommunicated the Emperor.

Henry's excommunication encouraged a revolt on the part of some of his discontented subjects. He was shunned as a man accursed by Heaven. His authority seemed to have slipped entirely out of his hands, and his kingdom was on the point of going to pieces. In this wretched state of his affairs there was but one thing for him to do, — to go to Gregory and humbly sue for pardon and reinstatement in the favor of the Church.

Henry sought Gregory among the Apennines, at Canossa, a stronghold of the celebrated Countess Matilda of Tuscany. But Gregory refused to admit him to his presence. It was winter, and on three successive days the king, clothed in sackcloth, stood with bare feet in the snow of the courtyard of the castle, waiting for permission to kneel at the feet of the pontiff and to receive forgiveness. On the fourth day the king was admitted to the presence of Gregory, and the sentence of excommunication was removed (1077).

Henry afterwards avenged his humiliation. He raised an army, descended upon Rome, and drove Gregory into exile at Salerno, where he died with these words on his lips: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile" (1085).

But the quarrel did not end here. It was taken up by the successors of Gregory, and Henry was again excommunicated. After

maintaining a long struggle with the power of the Church and with his own sons, who were incited to rebel against him, he finally died broken-hearted (1106).

102. Concordat of Worms (1122). — Henry's successors maintained the quarrel with the popes. The outcome of the matter, after many years of bitter contention, was the celebrated Concordat of Worms (1122). It was agreed that all bishops and abbots of the Empire, after free election by those having this right, should receive the ring and staff, the symbols of their spiritual jurisdiction, from the Pope, but that the Emperor should exercise the right of investiture by the touch of a scepter, the emblem of temporal rights and authority. This was a recognition by both parties that all spiritual authority emanates from the Church and all temporal authority from the State. It was a compromise, — "a rendering unto Cæsar of the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

We must here drop the story of the contentions of Pope and Emperor in order to watch the peoples of Europe as at the time we have now reached they undertake with surprising unanimity and enthusiasm the most remarkable enterprises in which they were ever engaged, — the Crusades, or Holy Wars.

Selections from the Sources. — DANTE, *De Monarchia* (trans. by Aurlia Henry). Dante argues that the authority of the Emperor comes direct from God and not from the Pope. HENDERSON, *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 351-409, "Decrees concerning Papal Elections and Documents relating to the Controversy over Investiture." ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. i, chap. xiii.

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CHAPTER XII ·

THE CRUSADES

(1096-1273)

103. The Crusades defined. — The Crusades were great military expeditions carried on intermittently for two centuries by the Christian peoples of Europe, with the aim of rescuing from the hands of the Mohammedans the holy places of Palestine and maintaining in the East a Latin kingdom. Historians usually enumerate eight of these expeditions as worthy of special narration. Of these eight the first four are often designated the Principal Crusades and the remaining four the Minor Crusades. But besides these there were a children's crusade and several other expeditions, which, being insignificant in numbers or results, are not usually enumerated, as well as several enterprises in Europe itself which partook of the nature of crusades.

104. Causes of the Crusades. — Among the early Christians it was thought a pious and meritorious act to undertake a journey to some sacred place. Especially was it thought that a pilgrimage to the land whose soil had been pressed by the feet of the Saviour of the world, to the Holy City that had witnessed his martyrdom, was a peculiarly pious undertaking, and one which secured for the pilgrim the special favor and blessing of Heaven.

The Saracen caliphs, for the four centuries and more that they held possession of Palestine, pursued usually an enlightened policy towards the pilgrims, even encouraging pilgrimages as a source of revenue. But in the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks, a prominent Tartar tribe, zealous proselytes of Islam, wrested Syria from the tolerant Saracen caliphs. The Christians were not long in realizing that power had fallen into new hands. Pilgrims were insulted and persecuted in every way. The churches in Jerusalem were, in some cases, destroyed or turned into stables.

Now if it were a meritorious thing to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher, much more would it be a pious act to rescue the sacred spot from the profanation of infidels. This was the conviction that changed the pilgrim into a warrior,—this the sentiment that for two centuries and more stirred the Christian world to its profoundest depths and cast the population of Europe in wave after wave upon Asia.

Although this religious feeling was the principal cause of the Crusades, still there were other concurring causes which must not be overlooked. Among these was the restless, adventurous spirit of the Teutonic peoples of Europe, who had not as yet outgrown their barbarian instincts. The feudal knights and lords, just now animated by the rising spirit of chivalry, were very ready to enlist in an undertaking so consonant with their martial feelings and their new vows of knighthood.

105. The Council of Clermont (1095).—There is a tradition which makes one immediate inciting cause of the First Crusade to have been the preaching of a monk named Peter the Hermit, a native of France. That the preaching of the monk was of a most extraordinary character and produced a deep impression upon the popular mind is beyond doubt. But the real originator of the First Crusade was Pope Urban, and not the hermit, as the legend represents.

Having been appealed to by the Emperor Alexis Comnenus for aid against the Turks, who were now threatening Constantinople, Urban called a great council of the Church at Piacenza, in Italy, to consider the appeal, but nothing was effected at this meeting. Later in the same year a new council was convened at Clermont, in France, Urban purposely fixing the place of meeting among the warm-tempered and martial Franks. Fourteen archbishops, two hundred and twenty-five bishops, four hundred abbots, and of others a multitude that no man could number, crowded to the council.

After the meeting had considered some minor matters the question which was agitating all hearts was brought before it. The Pope himself was one of the chief speakers. He possessed

the gift of eloquence, so that the man, the cause, and the occasion all contributed to the achievement of one of the greatest triumphs of human oratory. Urban pictured the humiliation and misery of the provinces of Asia; the profanation of the places made sacred by the presence and footsteps of the Son of God; and then he detailed the conquests of the Turks, until now, with almost all Asia Minor in their possession, they were threatening Europe from the shores of the Hellespont. "When Jesus Christ summons you to his defense," exclaimed the eloquent pontiff, "let no base affection detain you in your homes; whoever will abandon his house, or his father, or his mother, or his wife, or his children, or his inheritance, for the sake of His name, shall be recompensed a hundredfold and possess life eternal."

Here the enthusiasm of the vast assembly burst through every restraint. With one voice they cried, "*Dieu le volt! Dieu le volt!*" (It is the will of God! It is the will of God!). Thousands immediately affixed the cross¹ to their garments as a pledge of their engagement to go forth to the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher. The following summer was set for the expedition.

106. The First Crusade (1096-1099); Founding of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.—It was the countries of France and Southern Italy that were most deeply stirred by the papal call. By edict the Pope had granted to all who should enlist from right motives "remission of all canonical penalties," and promised to the truly penitent, in case they should die on the expedition, "the joy of life eternal." Under such inducements princes and nobles, bishops and priests, monks and anchorites, saints and sinners, rich and poor, hastened to enroll themselves beneath the standard of the Cross. "Europe," says Michaud, "appeared to be a land of exile, which every one was eager to quit."

Raymond, Count of Toulouse; Robert, Duke of Normandy; Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine; Bohemund, Prince of Otranto, and his nephew, Tancred, the "mirror of knight-hood," were among the most noted of the leaders of the different

¹ Hence the name "Crusades" given to the Holy Wars, from Old French *crois*, cross.

divisions of the army which was soon gathered.² The expedition is said to have numbered about three hundred thousand men.

The crusaders traversed Europe by different routes and re-assembled at Constantinople. Crossing the Bosphorus, they first captured Nicæa, the Turkish capital in Bithynia, and then set out across Asia Minor for Syria. The line of their dreary march between Nicæa and Antioch was whitened with the bones of nearly one half their number. Arriving at Antioch, the survivors captured that place, and then, after considerable delay, pushed on towards Jerusalem.

When at length the Holy City burst upon their view, a perfect delirium of joy seized the crusaders. As they moved on, they took off their shoes, and marched with uncovered head and bare feet, singing the words of the prophet: "Jerusalem, lift up thine eyes, and behold the liberator who comes to break thy chains." The city was taken by storm. A terrible slaughter of the infidels followed. "And if you desire to know what was done with the enemy who were found there," thus runs a home letter of one of the crusaders, "know that in Solomon's Porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses."

The government which the crusaders established for the city and country they had conquered was a model feudal state, called the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The code known as the Assizes of Jerusalem, which was a late compilation of the rules and customs presumably followed by the judges of the little state, forms one of the most interesting collections of feudal customs in existence.

At the head of the kingdom was placed Godfrey of Bouillon, the most devoted of the crusader knights. The prince refused

² Before the regular armies of the crusaders were ready to move, those who had gathered about Peter the Hermit, becoming impatient of delay, urged him to place himself at their head and lead them at once to the Holy Land. Dividing command of the mixed multitudes with a poor knight called Walter the Penniless, and followed by a throng, it is said, of eighty thousand persons, among whom were many women and children, the hermit set out for Constantinople by the overland route. Thousands of the crusaders perished miserably of hunger and exposure on the march. Those who crossed the Bosphorus were surprised by the Turks, and almost all were slaughtered.





the title and vestments of royalty, declaring that he would never wear a crown of gold in the city where his Lord and Master had worn a crown of thorns. The only title he would accept was that of "Baron of the Holy Sepulcher."

Many of the crusaders, considering their vows to deliver the Holy City as now fulfilled, soon set out on their return to their homes, some making their way back by sea and some by land.

107. Origin of the Religious Orders of Knighthood. — In the interval between the First and the Second Crusade, the two famed religious military orders known as the Hospitalers and the Templars⁸ were formed. A little later, during the Third Crusade, still another fraternity known as the Teutonic Knights was established. The objects of all the orders were the care of the sick and wounded crusaders, the entertainment of Christian pilgrims, the guarding of the holy places, and ceaseless battling for the Cross. These fraternities soon acquired a military fame that was spread throughout the Christian world. They were joined by many of the most illustrious knights of the West, and through the gifts of the pious acquired great wealth, and became possessed of numerous estates and castles in Europe as well as in Asia.

108. The Second Crusade (1147-1149); Preaching of St. Bernard; Failure of the Crusade. — In the year 1146 the city of Edessa, the outlying bulwark on the side towards Mesopotamia of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, was taken by the Turks and the entire population slaughtered or sold into slavery. This disaster threw Europe into a state of the greatest alarm lest the little Christian kingdom should be overwhelmed and all the holy places should again fall into the hands of the infidels.

The scenes that marked the opening of the First Crusade were now repeated in many of the countries of the West. St. Bernard

⁸ The Hospitalers, or Knights of St. John, took their name from the fact that the organization was first formed among the monks of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem; while the Templars, or Knights of the Temple, were so called on account of one of the buildings of the brotherhood occupying the site of Solomon's Temple. In the case of the Hospitalers it was monks who added to their ordinary monastic vows those of knighthood; in the case of the Templars it was knights who added to their military vows those of religion. Thus were united the seemingly incongruous ideals of the monk and the knight.

of Clairvaux, an eloquent monk, was the second Peter the Hermit who went everywhere arousing the warriors of the Cross to the defense of the birthplace of their religion. The contagion of the enthusiasm seized upon not merely barons, knights, and the common people, which classes alone participated in the First Crusade, but the greatest sovereigns were now infected by it. Louis VII, king of France, was led to undertake the crusade through remorse for an act of great cruelty against some of his revolted subjects. The Emperor Conrad III of Germany was persuaded to leave the affairs of his distracted realms in the hands of God and consecrate himself to the defense of the sepulcher of Christ.

The best part of the strength of both the German and the French division of the expedition was wasted in Asia Minor. Mere remnants of the armies joined in Palestine. The siege of Damascus, which was now undertaken, proved unsuccessful, and the crusaders, broken in spirit, returned home.

109. The Third Crusade (1189-1192); Frederick Barbarossa, Saladin, and Richard the Lion-Hearted. — The Third Crusade was caused by the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the renowned sultan of Egypt. This event occurred in the year 1187. The intelligence of the disaster caused the greatest consternation and grief throughout Christendom. Three of the great sovereigns of Europe, Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard I of England, assumed the cross, and set out, each at the head of a large army, for the recovery of the Holy City. The English king, Richard, afterwards given the title of *Cœur de Lion*, the "Lion-Hearted," in memory of his heroic exploits in Palestine, was the central figure among the Christian knights of this crusade.

The German army, attempting the overland route, after meeting with the usual troubles in Eastern Europe from the unfriendliness of the natives, was decimated in Asia Minor by the hardships of the march and the swords of the Turks. The Emperor Frederick was drowned while crossing a swollen stream, and most of the survivors of his army, disheartened by the loss of their leader, soon returned to Germany.

The English and French kings took the sea route, and finally mustered their forces beneath the walls of Acre, which city the Christians were then besieging. After one of the longest and most costly sieges they ever carried on in Asia, the crusaders at last forced the place to capitulate, in spite of all the efforts of Saladin to render the garrison relief.

For two years Richard contended in vain with Saladin, a knightly and generous antagonist according to the chroniclers, for possession of the tomb of Christ. He finally concluded with him a favorable truce and then set out for home; but while traversing Germany in disguise he was discovered and was arrested and imprisoned by order of the Emperor Henry VI, who was his political enemy. Henry cast his prisoner into a dungeon, and, notwithstanding the outcry of all Europe that the champion of Christianity should suffer such treatment at the hands of a brother prince, refused to release him without an enormous ransom, which was paid by the English people.

110. The Fourth Crusade (1202-1204); Capture of Constantinople by the Latins. — The city of Venice was the rendezvous of the Fourth Crusade. It was made up largely of unscrupulous adventurers and the marine forces of Venice. It was originally aimed at Egypt but struck Constantinople. A great share of the responsibility for the diversion of the crusade from its first designation lies, it seems, at the door of the Venetians, who, when it was proposed that the crusaders should undertake to right certain alleged wrongs of the imperial family at the Byzantine capital, seeing in the proposed adventure an opportunity to further their trade interests in the Black Sea regions, took pains to insure that the expedition should be launched in that direction.

The outcome of the crusade was the capture and sack of Constantinople and the setting up of a Latin prince, Baldwin of Flanders, as Emperor of the East (1204). The Empire was now remodeled into a feudal state like the Kingdom of Jerusalem established by the knights of the First Crusade. Most of the Greek islands and certain of the shore lands of the old Empire were given to Venice as her share of the spoils.

The Latin Empire of Constantinople, as it was called, lasted only a little over half a century (1204-1261). The Greeks, at the end of this period, succeeded in regaining the throne, which they then held until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

One lamentable consequence of the crusaders' act was the weakening of the military strength of the capital. For a thousand years Constantinople had been the great bulwark of Western civilization against Asiatic barbarism. Its power of resistance was now broken, with momentous consequences for Western Christendom, as we shall learn later (Chapter XLIX).

III. The Children's Crusade (1212).— During the interval between the Fourth and the Fifth Crusade the religious enthusiasm that had so long agitated the men of Europe came to fill with unrest the children, resulting in what is known as the Children's Crusade.

The chief preacher of this crusade was a child about twelve years of age, a French peasant lad, named Stephen, who became persuaded that Jesus Christ had commanded him to lead a crusade of children to the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher. The children became wild with excitement and flocked in vast crowds to the places appointed for rendezvous. Nothing could restrain them or thwart their purpose. "Even bolts and bars," says an old chronicler, "could not hold them." The great majority of those who collected at the rallying places were boys under twelve years of age, but there were also many girls.

The movement excited the most diverse views. Some declared that it was inspired by the Holy Spirit, and quoted such scriptural texts as these to justify the enthusiasm: "A little child shall lead them"; "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise." Others, however, were quite as confident that the whole thing was the work of the devil.

The German children, whose number is variously estimated at from twenty to forty thousand, crossed the Alps and marched down the Italian shores looking for a miraculous pathway through the sea to Palestine. Beneath the toil and hardships of the journey a great part of the little crusaders died or fell out by the way.

Those reaching Rome were kindly received by the Pope, who persuaded them to give up their enterprise and return to their homes.

The French children, numbering thirty thousand, according to the chroniclers, set out from the place of rendezvous for Marseilles. Arriving there, the children were bitterly disappointed that the sea did not open and give them passage to Palestine. The greater part, discouraged and disillusioned, now returned home; five or six thousand, however, accepting gladly the seemingly generous offer of two merchants of the city, who proposed to take them to the Holy Land free of charge, crowded into seven small ships and sailed out of the port of Marseilles. But they were betrayed and the most of them sold as slaves in Alexandria and other Mohammedan slave markets.

This children's expedition marked at once the culmination and the decline of the crusading movement. The fervid zeal that inspired the first crusaders was already dying out. "These children," said the Pope, referring to the young crusaders, "reproach us with having fallen asleep, whilst they were flying to the assistance of the Holy Land."

112. The Minor Crusades; End of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

—The last four expeditions—the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth—undertaken by the Christians of Europe against the infidels of the East may be conveniently grouped as the Minor Crusades. They were marked by a less genuine enthusiasm than that which characterized particularly the First Crusade. The flame of the Crusades had burned itself out, and the fate of the little Christian kingdom in Asia, isolated from Europe and surrounded on all sides by bitter enemies, became each day more and more apparent. Finally, the last of the places held by the Christians fell into the hands of the Moslems, and with this event the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem came to an end (1291). The second great combat between Mohammedanism and Christianity was over, and "silence reigned along the shore that had so long resounded with the world's debate" (Gibbon).

113. Crusades in Europe.—Notwithstanding the strenuous and united efforts which the Christians of Europe put forth against

the Mohammedans, they did not succeed in extending permanently the frontiers of Western civilization in the Orient.

But in the southwest and the northeast of Europe it was different. Here the crusading spirit rescued from Moslem and pagan large territories, and upon these regained or newly acquired lands established a number of little Christian principalities, which later grew into states, or came to form a portion of states, which were to play great parts in the history of the following centuries. The states whose beginnings are thus connected with the crusading age are Portugal, Spain, and Prussia. We will say just a single word respecting each of them.

114. Crusades against the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula. — Just before the actual beginning of the Crusades against the Moslems of the East a band of northern knights went to the help of the Christians against the Moslems in the west of the Iberian peninsula. The issue of this chivalric enterprise was the formation of a little feudal principality, the nucleus of the later kingdom of Portugal. At the time of the Second Crusade some German and English crusaders, on their way to Palestine by sea, stopped here and aided the native Christians in the siege and capture from the Mohammedans of the important city of Lisbon (1147). This gave the little growing state its future capital. Thus Portugal was, in a very strict sense, a creation of the crusading spirit.

Then during all the time that the Crusades proper were going on in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Spanish Christian knights were engaged in almost one uninterrupted crusade against the Moslem intruders. By the middle of the thirteenth century the Christians had crowded the Moors into a small region in the southern part of the peninsula. Upon the ground thus regained there arose a number of small Christian states which finally coalesced to form the modern kingdom of Spain.

115. Crusades by the Teutonic Knights against the Pagan Slavs (1226-1283). — At the time of the Crusades all the Baltic shore lands lying eastward of the Vistula and which to-day form a part of Prussia were held by pagan Slavs. These people, like the pagan Saxons of an earlier time, resisted strenuously the introduction of

Christianity among them. Devoted priests who carried the Gospel to them, together with the converts they made, were often massacred. Finally, a crusade was preached against them.

Early in the thirteenth century (1226) some knights of the Teutonic order transferred their crusading efforts to these northern heathen lands. For the greater part of the century the knights carried on what was a desperate and almost continuous war of extermination against the pagans. The surrounding Slav population was either destroyed or subjected, and the whole land was gradually Germanized. Thus what was originally Slav territory was converted into a German land, and the basis laid of a principality which later came to form an important part of modern Prussia.⁴

116. Crusades against the Albigenses (1209-1229). — During the crusading age holy wars were preached and waged against heretics as well as against infidels and pagans.

In the south of France was a sect of Christians called Albigenses, who had departed so far from the orthodox faith that Pope Innocent III declared them to be "more wicked than Saracens." He therefore, after a vain endeavor to turn them from their errors, issued a call for a crusade against them and their rich and powerful patron, Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse.

A great number of French nobles responded eagerly to the call of the Church. The leader of the First Crusade (1209-1213) was Simon de Montfort, a man cruel, callous, and relentless beyond belief. A great part of Languedoc, the beautiful country of the Albigenses, was made a desert, the inhabitants being slaughtered and the cities burned. In 1229 the fury of a fresh crusade burst upon the Albigenses, which resulted in their prince (Raymond VII) ceding the greater part of his beautiful but ravaged provinces to Louis IX, king of France, and submitting himself to the Church. The Albigensian heresy was soon wholly extirpated by the tribunal of the Inquisition which was set up in the country.

117. Effects upon Civilization of the Crusades. — The indirect results of the Crusades were many and far-reaching. Through

⁴ See on map of modern Europe how the German territory on the northeast is thrust out into the Slavonic mass.

them the towns gained many advantages at the expense of the crusading barons and princes. Ready money in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was largely in the hands of the burgher class, and in return for the contributions and loans they made to their overlords and suzerains they received charters conferring special and valuable privileges. The Holy Wars further promoted the prosperity of the towns by giving a great impulse to commercial enterprise. Particularly was this true of the Italian cities.



FIG. 13. — A MÆDIEVAL WINDMILL. (From an engraving of an abbey and its precincts, dating from about the middle of the fourteenth century)

The Mediterranean was whitened with the sails of their transport ships, which were constantly plying between the various ports of Europe and the towns of the Syrian coast.

The kings also gained much through the Crusades. Many of the nobles who set out on the expeditions never returned, and their estates, through failure of heirs, escheated to the crown; while many more wasted their fortunes in meeting the expenses of their undertaking. Thus the nobility were greatly weakened in numbers and influence, and the power and patronage of the kings correspondingly increased. This

process of the disintegration of feudalism and the growth of monarchy is to be traced most distinctly in France, the cradle and center of the crusading movement.

Again, the effects of the Crusades upon the social and industrial life of the Western nations were marked and important. Giving opportunity for romantic adventure, they were one of the chief fostering influences of chivalry; while by bringing the rude peoples of the West in contact with the culture of the East, they exerted upon them a general refining influence. Also, various arts, manufactures, and inventions (among these the windmill⁶

⁶ Windmills were chiefly utilized in the Netherlands, where they were used to pump the water from the oversoaked lands, and thus became the means of creating the most important part of what is now the kingdom of Holland.

and probably the mariner's compass) before unknown in Europe were at this time introduced from Asia, and contributed to enrich and develop the industrial life of the European peoples. Furthermore, the knowledge of Oriental or Græco-Arabic science and learning gained by the crusaders through their expeditions greatly stimulated the Latin intellect and helped to awaken in Western Europe that mental activity which resulted finally in the great intellectual outburst known as the Renaissance (Chapter XVIII).

Lastly, the incentive given to geographical exploration led various travelers, such as the celebrated Venetian Marco Polo, to range over the most remote countries of Asia. Nor did the matter end here. Even that spirit of maritime enterprise and adventure which rendered illustrious the close of the Middle Ages, inspiring the voyages of Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Magellan, may be traced back to that lively interest in geographical matters awakened by the expeditions of the crusaders.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Truce of God. 2. Letters of the crusaders. 3. Incidents of the Fourth Crusade. 4. The Children's Crusade.

CHAPTER XIII

SUPREMACY OF THE PAPACY; DECLINE OF ITS TEMPORAL POWER

118. Preliminary Survey: the Papacy at its Height. — In an earlier chapter on the Empire and the Papacy we related the beginnings of the contention for supremacy between Pope and Emperor. In the present chapter we shall first speak of the Papacy at the height of its power, and then tell how, as the popes, with the Empire ruined, seemed about to realize their ideal of a universal ecclesiastical and secular monarchy, their temporal power was shattered by a new opposing force, — the rising nations.

We have already noticed the work of some of the upholders of the Papacy, notably that of Pope Gregory VII. Gregory had many worthy successors. The most eminent of these were Alexander III (1159–1181) and Innocent III (1198–1216), under whom the power of the Papacy was at its height.

119. Pope Alexander III and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. — A little after the settlement known as the Concordat of Worms (sec. 102) the first of the House of Hohenstaufen came to the German throne, and then began a sharp contention, lasting, with intervals of strained peace, for more than a century, between the emperors of this proud family and the successive occupants of the papal chair. We can here do no more than simply note the issue of the quarrel in so far as it concerned Pope Alexander III and one of the most noted of the Hohenstaufen, Frederick Barbarossa, the crusader. After maintaining the contest for many years Frederick, vanquished and humiliated, was constrained to seek reconciliation at the feet of the pontiff (1177). Precisely one hundred years had passed since the like humiliation of the Emperor Henry IV (sec. 101).

120. Pope Innocent III and King John of England. — When one of the most powerful of the emperors after Charlemagne was forced

thus to bow before the papal throne, we are not surprised to find the kings of the different countries subjecting themselves obediently to the same authority. English history of the period covered by the pontificate of Innocent III affords a striking illustration of the subject relation which the sovereigns of Europe had come to sustain to the papal see. The see of Canterbury falling vacant, King John ordered the monks who had the right of election to give the place to a favorite of his. They obeyed; but the Pope immediately declared the election void, and caused the vacancy to be filled with one of his own friends, Stephen Langton. John declared that the Pope's archbishop should never enter England as primate, and proceeded to confiscate the estates of the see. Innocent now laid all England under an interdict, excommunicated John, and called upon the French king, Philip Augustus, to undertake a crusade against the contumacious rebel.

The outcome of the matter was that John was compelled to yield to the power of the Church. He gave back the lands he had confiscated, acknowledged Langton to be the rightful primate of England, and even went so far as to give England and Ireland to the Pope, receiving them back as a perpetual fief (1213). In token of his vassalage he agreed to pay to the papal see the annual sum of one thousand marks sterling. This tribute money was actually paid, though irregularly, until the reign of Edward III (sec. 124).

121. **The Mendicant Orders, or Begging Friars.**¹ — The immediate successors of Innocent III found a strong support for their authority in two new monastic orders known as the Dominican and the Franciscan. They were so named after their respective founders, St. Dominic (1170–1221) and St. Francis (about 1182–1226). Speaking in general terms, until now the monk had sought cloistral solitude primarily in order to escape from the world and to work out his own salvation. In the new orders the members instead of withdrawing from the world were to remain in it and give themselves wholly to the work of securing the salvation of others.

¹ From *fratres*, *frères*, brethren.

Again, the orders were also as *orders* to renounce all earthly possessions, and, "espousing Poverty as a bride," to rely entirely for support upon the daily and voluntary alms of the pious.² Hitherto, while the individual members of a monastic order must espouse extreme poverty, the house or fraternity might possess any amount of communal wealth. But in the new orders "the brethren must be as poor as the brother."

The new fraternities grew and spread with marvelous rapidity, and in less than a generation they had quite overshadowed all the old monastic orders of the Church. The popes conferred upon them many and special privileges. They in turn became the staunchest friends and supporters of the Roman see. They were to the Papacy of the thirteenth century what the later order of the Jesuits was to the papal Church of the period of the Reformation (sec. 242).

122. The Revolt of the Nations. — The fourteenth century marks the turning point in the history of the temporal power of the Papacy. In the course of that century France, Germany, and England successively revolted against the Roman see and formally denied the right of the Pope to interfere in their political or governmental affairs. But it should be carefully noted that the leaders of this revolt against the secular domination of the Papacy did not think of challenging the spiritual authority of the Pope as the supreme head of the Church. Their attitude was wholly like that of the Italians of our own day, who, while dispossessing the Pope of the last remnant of his temporal sovereignty, abate nothing of their veneration for him as the Vicar of God in all things moral and spiritual.

123. Pope Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair of France. — It was during the pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294–1303) that the secular authority of the popes received a severe blow and began rapidly to decline. In the year 1296 Boniface issued a bull in

² The friars soon came to interpret their vow of poverty more liberally, and believed that they met its obligations when they put the title of the property they acquired in the hands of the Pope, while they themselves simply enjoyed the use of it. The new fraternities grew in time to be among the richest of the monastic orders.

which, under pain of excommunication, he forbade all ecclesiastical persons, without papal permission, to pay taxes in any form levied by lay rulers. All civil rulers of whatsoever name—baron, duke, prince, king, or emperor—who should presume to impose upon ecclesiastics taxes of any kind, were also to incur the same sentence.⁸

Philip of France regarded the papal claims as an encroachment upon the civil authority. The contention between him and the Pope speedily grew into a bitter and undignified quarrel. In one of his letters to Boniface, Philip addressed the pontiff in words of unseemly and studied rudeness. Philip was bold because he knew that his people were with him. The popular feeling was given expression in a famous States-General which the king summoned in 1302, and in another called together the next year. The three estates of the realm—the nobility, the clergy, and the commons—declared that the Pope had no authority in France in civil matters; that the French king had no superior save God.

The end was soon reached. At Anagni, in Italy, a band of soldiers in the French pay, with every indignity, accompanied by blows, made Boniface a prisoner. After three days he was set free by friends and returned to Rome, only, however, to be there made the victim of fresh insults. In a few days he died, broken-hearted, it is said, at the age of eighty-seven (1303).

By all historians of the rise and decline of the temporal power of the popes, the scene at Anagni is placed for historical instruction alongside that enacted more than two centuries earlier at Canossa (sec. 101). The contrasted scenes cannot fail to impress one deeply with the vast vicissitudes in the fortunes of the mediæval Papacy.

124. Removal of the Papal Seat to Avignon (1309-1376); Revolt of Germany and England.—In 1309, through the concurrence of various influences, the papal seat was removed from Rome to Avignon, in Provence, adjoining the frontier of France. Here it remained for a space of nearly seventy years, an era known in Church history as the “Babylonian Captivity.” While

⁸ This is the celebrated bull known as *Clericis Laicos*. See Henderson's *Select Historical Documents*, p. 432.

it was established here all the popes were Frenchmen and their policies were largely dictated by the French kings. Under these circumstances it was but natural that outside of France there should be stirred up a more and more angry protest against the interference of the popes in civil matters. The measures taken at this time by the national assemblies of Germany and England, in both of which countries a national sentiment was springing up, show how completely the Papacy had lost prestige as an international power.

In 1338 the German princes with whom rested the right of electing the German king, in opposing the papal claims, declared that the German Emperor derived all his powers from God through them and not from the Pope. The German Diet indorsed this declaration, and the principle that the German Emperor, as to his election and the exercise of his functions, is independent of the papal see became from that time forward a part of the German constitution.

A little later (in 1366), during the reign of Edward III, the English Parliament, acting in a like spirit and temper, put an end to English vassalage to Rome by formally refusing to pay the tribute pledged by King John,⁴ and by repudiating wholly the claims of the popes upon England as a fief of the holy see.

125. The Great Schism (1378-1417).—The stirring of the national sentiment in several of the countries of Europe was not the only disastrous result to the Papacy of the Babylonian exile. The discontent awakened among the Italians by the situation of the papal court led to an open rupture between them and the French party. In 1378 the opposing factions each elected a Pope, and thus there were two heads of the Church, one at Avignon and the other at Rome. Such was the beginning of the Great Schism (1378).

The spectacle of two rival popes, each claiming to be the rightful successor of St. Peter, naturally gave the reverence which the world had so generally held for the Roman see a rude shock, and one from which it never fully recovered.

⁴ See sec. 120. The payment of this tribute had fallen in arrears.

126. The Church Councils of Pisa (1409) and Constance (1414-1418).—For a generation all Western Christendom was deeply agitated by the unseemly quarrel. No peaceful solution of the difficulty seemed possible. Some even favored a resort to force. The faculties of the University of Paris invited suggestions as to the best means of ending the schism. They received ten thousand written opinions. The drift of these was in favor of an ecumenical council. Finally, in 1409, a council of the Church assembled at Pisa for the purpose of composing the unfortunate feud. This council deposed both popes and elected Alexander V as the supreme head of the Church. But matters instead of being mended hereby were only made worse; for neither of the deposed pontiffs would lay down his authority in obedience to the demands of the council, and so now there were three popes instead of two.

In 1414 another council was called at Constance for the settlement of the growing dispute. One of the claimants resigned and the other two were deposed. A new pope was then elected, the choice of the assembly falling upon an Italian cardinal, who became Pope Martin V (1417). In his person the Catholic world was again united under a single spiritual head.

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Topics for Class Reports.—1. St. Francis of Assisi. 2. St. Dominic. 3. The popes at Avignon.

CHAPTER XIV

TURANIAN CONQUESTS; MONGOLS AND TURKS

127. The Huns and the Hungarians. — The Huns of Attila (defeated at Châlons, A.D. 451) were the first Turanians that during historic times pushed their way in among the peoples of Europe.

The next Turanian invaders of Europe that we need here notice were the Magyars, or Hungarians, another branch of the Hunnic race, who in the ninth century of our era succeeded in thrusting themselves far into the continent and establishing there the important kingdom of Hungary. These people, in marked contrast to almost every other tribe of Turanian origin, adopted the manners, customs, and religion of the peoples about them — became, in a word, thoroughly Europeanized, and for a long time were the main defense of Christian Europe against the Turkish tribes of the same race that followed closely in their footsteps.

128. The Seljuk Turks. — The Seljuk Turks, so called from the name of one of their chiefs, are the next Turanian people who thrust themselves prominently upon our notice. It was the capture of the holy places in Palestine by this intolerant race and their threatening advance toward the Bosphorus that alarmed the Christian nations of Europe and led to the First Crusade (sec. 104).

The blows dealt the empire of the Seljuks by the crusaders, and disputes respecting the succession, caused the once formidable sovereignty to crumble to pieces, only, however, to be replaced by others of equally rapid growth, destined to as quick a decay.

129. The Mongols. — While the power of the Seljuk Turks was declining in Western Asia, the Mongols, cruel and untamed nomads bred on the steppes of Central and Eastern Asia, that nursery of conquering races, began to set up a new dominion among the various tribes of Mongolia. Their first great chieftain was Jenghiz Khan (1206–1227), the most terrible scourge that ever afflicted the human race. At the head of innumerable hordes composed

largely of Turkish tribes, callous and pitiless in their slaughtering as though their victims belonged to another species than themselves, Jenghiz traversed with sword and torch a great part of Asia. He conquered all the northern part of China, and then turning westward overran Turkestan and Persia. Cities disappeared as he advanced; populous plains were transformed into silent deserts. Before death overtook him he had extended his authority to the Dnieper in Russia and to the valley of the Indus.



FIG. 14. — HUT-WAGON OF THE MEDIÆVAL TARTARS. (From Yule's *Book of Ser Marco Polo*)

The wandering Scyths who dwell
In latticed huts high-poised on easy wheels.

ÆSCHYLUS, *Prom. Vinc.*, 709-710; quoted by Yule

Even in death he claimed his victims: at his tomb forty maidens were slain that their spirits might go to serve him in the other world.

The vast domains of Jenghiz passed into the hands of his son Oktai (d. 1241), a worthy successor of the great conqueror. He pushed outwards still further the boundaries of the empire in the east as well as in the west of Asia, and made a threatening invasion of Europe. In the space of two or three terrible years (1238-1241) almost half of Europe (a large part of Russia, Poland, and Hungary) was pitilessly ravaged.

One of the most noted of the successors of Oktai was Kublai Khan (1259-1294), who made Cambalu, the modern Peking, his royal seat, and there received ambassadors and visitors from all parts of the world. It was at the court of this prince that the celebrated Italian traveler Marco Polo resided many years and gained that valuable and quickening knowledge of the Far East which he communicated to Europe in his remarkable work of travels and observations.

Upon the death of Kublai Khan the immoderately extended and loosely knit empire fell into disorder and separated into many petty states. It was restored by Timur, or Tamerlane (1369-1405), a remote relative of Jenghiz Khan. His dominions came to embrace a great part of Asia.

Timur's immense empire crumbled to pieces after his death. His descendant Baber invaded India (1525) and established there what became known as the Kingdom of the Great Moguls. This Mongol state lasted over two hundred years,—until destroyed by the English in the eighteenth century. The magnificence of the court of the Great Moguls at Delhi and Agra is one of the most splendid traditions of the East.

Asia has never recovered from the terrible devastation wrought by the Mongol conquerors. Many districts swarming with life were swept clean of their population by these destroyers of the race and have remained to this day desolate as the tomb. But it is the relation of the Mongol eruption to the history of the West that chiefly concerns us at present. This revolution had significance for European history almost solely on account of the Mongols having laid the yoke of their power for a long time—for about three centuries—upon the Eastern Slavs. This was some such calamity for Russia as the later conquests of the Ottoman Turks were for the lands of Southeastern Europe.

130. The Beginnings of the Ottoman¹ Empire.—The latest, most permanent, and most important historically of all the Turanian sovereignties was that established by the Ottoman Turks.

¹ From Othman I (1288-1326), or Osman, whence not only "Ottoman," but "Osmanlis," the favorite name which the Turks apply to themselves.

The nucleus of this great empire was a little state set up in Asia Minor about the middle of the thirteenth century by a band of Turkish warriors. Gradually the Ottoman princes subjected to their rule the surrounding tribes, and at the same time seized upon province after province of the Asiatic possessions of the Byzantine emperors. During the reign of Amurath I (1360-1389) a large part of the regions that came to be known as Turkey in Europe fell into their hands.

131. The Janizaries.—The conquests of the Turks were greatly aided by a remarkably efficient body of soldiers known as the Janizaries, which was organized early in the fourteenth century.



THE EMPIRE OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS ABOUT 1464

This select corps was composed at first of the fairest children of Christian captives, who were brought up in the Mohammedan faith. When war ceased to furnish recruits, the sultans levied a tribute of children on their Christian subjects. At one time this tribute amounted to two thousand boys yearly. This method of recruiting the corps was maintained for about three centuries.

132. The Fall of Constantinople (1453).—The fall of Constantinople was delayed for a time by the attacks of the Mongols upon the Ottomans in Asia. But finally, in the year 1453, Mohammed II the Great (1451-1480) laid siege to the capital with a vast army and fleet. After a short investment the place was taken by storm. Of the hundred thousand inhabitants of the capital forty thousand are said to have been slain and fifty thousand

made slaves. The Cross on the dome of St. Sophia was replaced by the Crescent.

Thus fell New Rome into the hands of the barbarians of the East almost an exact millennium after Old Rome had passed into the possession of the barbarians of the West. Its fall was one of the most harrowing and fate-laden events in history. As Mohammed, like Scipio at Carthage, gazed upon the ruined city and the empty palace of Constantine, he is said, impressed by the mutability of fortune, to have repeated musingly the lines of the Persian poet Firdusi: "The spider's web is the curtain in Cæsar's palace; the owl is the sentinel on the watchtower of Afrasiab."²

The Turks have ever remained quite insensible to the influences of European civilization. They have always been looked upon as intruders in Europe, and their presence there has led to several of the most sanguinary wars of modern times. Gradually they are being pushed out from their European possessions, and the time is probably not remote when they will be driven back across the Bosphorus, just as the Moslem Moors were expelled long ago from the opposite corner of the continent by the Christian chivalry of Spain.

Selections from the Sources. — *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 2 vols. (trans. by Henry Yule; new ed. revised by Henri Cordier). The best part of these volumes is condensed in NOAH BROOKS, *The Story of Marco Polo*. Marco Polo resided seventeen years at the court of Kublai Khan at Cambalu, the modern Peking. He saw the Mongol court at the time of its greatest brilliancy and gave Europe a vivid description of what he observed and heard in an account which our growing knowledge of the Far East is giving a constantly higher reputation for accuracy and honesty.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Marco Polo at the Mongol court. 2. The Mongols in Russia. 3. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

² Afrasiab is the name of a personage who figures in the legends of Persia.

CHAPTER XV

THE GROWTH OF THE TOWNS

133. Rapid Development of the Cities in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.— The old Roman towns, as points of attack and defense, suffered much during the period of the barbarian invasions. When the storm had passed, many of the once strong-walled towns lay “rings of ruins” on the wasted plains. But it was not alone the violence of the destroyers of the Empire that



FIG. 15. — THE AMPHITHEATER AT ARLES IN MEDIEVAL TIMES

“The amphitheater was made a fortress, packed with houses, in the eighth century, on account of Saracen incursions.” — SMITH, *The Troubadours at Home*

brought so many cities to ruin ; what chiefly caused their depopulation and decay was the preference of the barbarians for the open country to the city. Up to the eleventh century the population of Europe was essentially a rural population like that of Russia to-day.

But just as soon as the invaders had settled down and civilization had begun to revive, the towns began gradually to assume somewhat of their former importance. During the tenth century

Western Europe, it will be recalled, was terribly troubled by the Northmen, the Hungarians, and the Saracens (sec. 80). There being no strong central government, the cities, thrown upon their own resources for defense, armed their militia, and above all else surrounded themselves with walls. Strong walls were the only sure protection in those evil times. Thus Europe became thick-set with strong-walled cities, the counterpart of the castles of the feudal lords, which were the defense of the countryside.

134. The Towns enter the Feudal System; their Revolt.— When feudalism took possession of Europe the cities became a part of the system. They became vassals and suzerains. As vassals, they were of course subjected to all the incidents of feudal ownership. They owed allegiance to their suzerain, were he baron, prince, prelate, king, or emperor, and must pay him feudal tribute and aid him in his war enterprises. As the cities, through their manufactures and trade, were the most wealthy members of the feudal system, the lords naturally looked to them for money when in need. Their demands and exactions at last became unendurable, and a long struggle broke out between them and the burghers.

The advantage in the end rested with the burghers. In process of time the greater number of the towns of the countries of Western Europe either bought with money or wrested by force of arms charters from their lords or suzerains. This was a great gain; and as, under the protection of their charters, the cities grew in wealth and population, many of them in some countries became at last strong enough to cast off all actual dependence upon lord or king, became in effect independent states,—little commonwealths. Especially was this true in the case of the Italian cities, and in a less marked degree in the case of some of the German towns.

135. The Industrial Life of the Towns; the Gilds.— The towns were the workshops of the later Middle Ages. The most noteworthy characteristics of their industrial life are connected with certain corporations or fraternities known as gilds. There were two chief classes of these, the gild merchant and the craft gilds. The members of the gild merchant, speaking generally,

were the chief landowners and traders of the place. The craft guilds were unions of the shoemakers, the bakers, the weavers, the spinners, the dyers, the millers, and so on to the end. In some cities there were upwards of fifty of these associations.

The internal history of the towns during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is very largely the story of the guilds in their manifold activities. This story, however, it is impossible to give even in outline in our short space. We must content ourselves with having merely indicated the place of these interesting fraternities in the life of the mediæval towns.

136. The Hanseatic¹ League. — When, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the towns of Northern Europe began to extend their commercial connections, the greatest drawback to their trade was the insecurity and disorder that everywhere prevailed. The trader who intrusted his goods to the overland routes was in danger of losing them at the hands of the robber nobles, who watched all the lines of travel and either robbed the merchant outright or levied an iniquitous toll upon his goods. Nor was the way by sea beset with less peril. Piratical crafts scoured the waters and made booty of any luckless merchantman they might overpower or lure to wreck upon the dangerous shores.

This state of things led some of the German cities, about the middle of the fourteenth century, to form, for the protection of their merchants, an alliance called the Hanseatic League. The confederation eventually embraced eighty or more of the principal towns of North Germany. In order to facilitate the trading operations of its members, the league established in different foreign cities trading posts and warehouses. The four most noted centers of the trade of the confederation were the cities of Bruges, London, Bergen, Wisby, and Novgorod. The league thus became a vast monopoly, which endeavored to control in the interests of its own members the entire commerce of Northern Europe.

Numerous causes concurred to undermine the prosperity of the Hansa towns and to bring about the dissolution of the league. Among these were the great maritime discoveries of the fifteenth

¹ From the old German *hansa*, a confederation or union.

and sixteenth centuries, which transferred the centers of commercial activity as well from the Baltic as from the Mediterranean ports to the harbors on the Atlantic seaboard, and the Reformation and the accompanying religious wars in Germany, which brought many of the Hansa towns to utter ruin.

137. Causes of the Early Growth of the Italian Cities. — But it was in Italy that the mediæval cities acquired the greatest power and influence. Several things conspired to promote their early and rapid development, but a main cause of their prosperity was their trade with the East, and the enormous impulse given to this commerce by the Crusades.

With wealth came power, and all the chief Italian cities became distinct, self-governing states, with just a nominal dependence upon Pope or Emperor. Towards the close of the thirteenth century Northern and Central Italy was divided among about two hundred contentious little city-republics. Italy had become another Greece.

138. The Rise of Despots. — The constant wars of the Italian cities with each other and the incessant strife of parties within each city led to the same issue as that to which tended the endless contentions and divisions of the Greek cities in ancient times. Their democratic institutions were overthrown, and by the end of the thirteenth century a large part of the city-republics of Northern and Central Italy had fallen into the hands of domestic tyrants, many of whom by their crimes rendered themselves as odious as the worst of the tyrants who usurped supreme power in the cities of ancient Hellas.

We shall now relate some circumstances, for the most part of a commercial or social character, which concern some of the most renowned of the Italian city-states.

139. Venice. — Venice, the most famous of the Italian cities, had its beginnings in the fifth century in the rude huts of some refugees who fled out into the marshes of the Adriatic to escape the fury of the Huns of Attila. Century after century conquests and negotiations gradually extended the possessions of the island republic, until she finally came to control the coast

and waters of the Eastern Mediterranean in much the same way that Carthage had mastery of the Western Mediterranean at the time of the First Punic War. Even before the Crusades her trade with the East was very extensive, and by those expeditions was expanded into enormous dimensions.

Venice was at the height of her power during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Her supremacy on the sea was celebrated each year by the unique ceremony of "Wedding the Adriatic" by the dropping of a ring into the sea. The origin of this custom was as follows. In the year 1177 Pope Alexander III, out of gratitude to the Venetians for services rendered him, gave a ring to the Doge with these words: "Take this as a token of dominion over the sea, and wed her every year, you and your successors forever, in order that all may know that the sea belongs to Venice and is subject to her as a bride is subject to her husband." This ceremony was one of the most brilliant spectacles of the Middle Ages.

The decline of Venice dates from the fifteenth century. The conquests of the Ottoman Turks during this century deprived her of much of the territory she held east of the Adriatic, and finally the discovery of the New World by Columbus and of an unbroken water route to India by Vasco da Gama gave a deathblow to her commerce. From this time on the trade with the East was to be conducted from the Atlantic ports instead of from those in the Mediterranean.

140. Genoa. — Genoa, on the old Ligurian coast, was, after Venice, the most powerful of the Italian maritime cities. The period of her greatest prosperity dates from the recapture of Constantinople from the Latins by the Greeks in 1261; for the Genoese had assisted the Greek princes in the recovery of their throne, and as a reward were shown commercial favors by the Greek emperors. The jealousy with which the Venetians regarded the prosperity of the Genoese led to oft-renewed war between the two rival republics. For nearly two centuries their hostile fleets contended, as did the navies of Rome and Carthage, for the supremacy of the sea.

The merchants of Genoa, like those of Venice, reaped a rich harvest during the Crusades. Their prosperity was brought to an end by the irruption of the Mongols and Turks, and the capture of Constantinople by the latter in 1453. The Genoese traders were now driven from the Black Sea, and their traffic with Eastern Asia was completely broken up.

141. Florence. — Florence, "the most illustrious and fortunate of Italian republics," although from her inland location upon the Arno shut out from engaging in those naval enterprises that conferred wealth and importance upon the coast cities of Venice and Genoa, became, notwithstanding, through the skill, industry, enterprise, and genius of her citizens, the great manufacturing, financial, literary, and art center of the later mediæval centuries. The list of her illustrious citizens is more extended than that of any other city of mediæval times; and indeed, as respects the number of her great men, Florence is perhaps unrivaled by any city of the ancient or modern world save Athens. In her long roll of fame we find the names of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo, Amerigo Vespucci, and the Medici.²

142. Services of the Mediæval Towns to Civilization. — Modern civilization inherited much from each of the three great centers of mediæval life, — the monastery, the castle, and the town. We have noticed what came out of cloister and baronial hall, what the monk and what the baron contributed to civilization (secs. 25 and 84). We must now see what came out of the town, — what contribution the burgher made to European life and culture.

In the first place, the towns were the centers of the industrial and commercial life of the Middle Ages, and laid the foundations of that vast system of international exchange and traffic which forms a characteristic feature of modern European civilization.

In the second place, the mediæval cities, along with the monasteries, were the foster home of architecture, sculpture, and

² The Medici were enlightened despots. The two most distinguished names of the family are those of Cosimo de' Medici (1389-1464), who was called the "Friend of the People and the Father of his Country," and Lorenzo, his grandson (1448-1492).

painting. These things, as has been well said, are "the beautiful flowers of free city life." The old picturesque high-gabled houses, the sculptured guildhalls, the artistic gateways, the superb palaces, and the imposing cathedrals found in so many of the

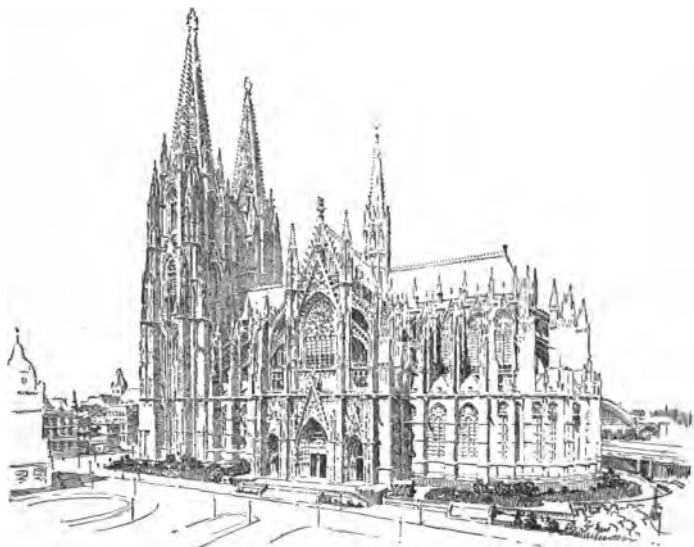


FIG. 16. — THE COLOGNE CATHEDRAL. (From a photograph)

This edifice was begun in the eleventh century, but was not finished until our own day (1880). It is one of the most imposing monuments of Gothic architecture in the world

cities of Europe to-day bear witness to the important place which the mediæval towns hold in the history of architecture and art.⁸

In the third place, the towns were the birthplace of modern political liberty. The inhabitants of the towns grew into a new order destined to a great political future, the so-called *Third*

⁸ The enthusiasm for church building was most marked in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The style of architecture first employed was the Romanesque, characterized by the rounded arch and the dome; but towards the close of the twelfth century this was superseded by the Gothic, distinguished by the pointed arch, the slender spire, and rich ornamentation.

*Estate, or Commons.*⁴ During the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the representatives of the towns came to sit along with the nobles and the clergy in the national diets or parliaments of the different countries.⁵ What this meant for the development of modern parliamentary government we shall learn later.

In the fourth place, it was the most typical of the free cities, those of Italy, which gave to the world the Renaissance, that great essentially intellectual movement which marked the latter part of the Middle Ages. The relation of the Italian cities to this mental awakening will be made the subject of a section further on (sec. 203).

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The gilds. 2. Frederick Barbarossa and Milan. 3. The *Carroccio*. 4. The Wedding of the Adriatic. 5. St. Mark's at Venice. 6. Cathedral building.

⁴ In England the men of the rural districts, that is of the counties, formed from the first, or almost from the first, a part of this order. In other countries, however, it was not until a later time that the rural class came to reinforce the new estate.

⁵ See secs. 154 and 173.

CHAPTER XVI

THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE SCHOOLMEN

143. The Rise and Early Growth of the Universities. — It will be recalled that a significant feature of the work of Charlemagne was the establishment of schools in connection with the cathedrals and monasteries of his realm (sec. 66). From the opening of the ninth till well on into the eleventh century the lamp of learning was fed in these Church schools, although throughout the tenth century the flame burned very low.

But about the opening of the twelfth century a new intellectual movement began to stir Western Christendom. This mental revival was caused by many agencies, particularly by the quickening influence of the Græco-Arabian culture in Spain and the Orient, with which the Christian West was just now being brought into closer contact through the Crusades. As a consequence of this newly awakened intellectual life there arose a demand for a more secular system of education than that given in the cloister schools, — one that should prepare a person for entering upon a professional career as a physician, lawyer, or statesman.¹

It was in response to these new demands that the universities came into existence. Some of these were mere expansions of cathedral or monastery schools; others developed out of lay schools which had grown up in commercial towns. Three of the most ancient universities were the University of Salerno, noted for its teachers in medicine; the University of Bologna, frequented for its instruction in law; and the University of Paris, revered for the authority of its doctors in theology. The University of Paris

¹ The number of faculties in the mediæval university was not fixed. A usual number was four, — the Faculty of Theology, the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Law, and the Faculty of Arts (or Philosophy). The course in arts embraced what is to-day covered by the courses in letters and science, and served as a preparation for entrance upon one of the three specialized professional courses, though most of the students never went beyond it.

gave constitution and rules to so many as to earn the designation of "the Mother of Universities and the Sinai of the Middle Ages."

144. Students and Student Life. — The number of students in attendance at the mediæval universities was large. Contemporaries tell of crowds of fifteen, twenty, and even thirty thousand at the most popular institutions. These numbers are doubtless exaggerated, but that the attendance was numerous is certain, for

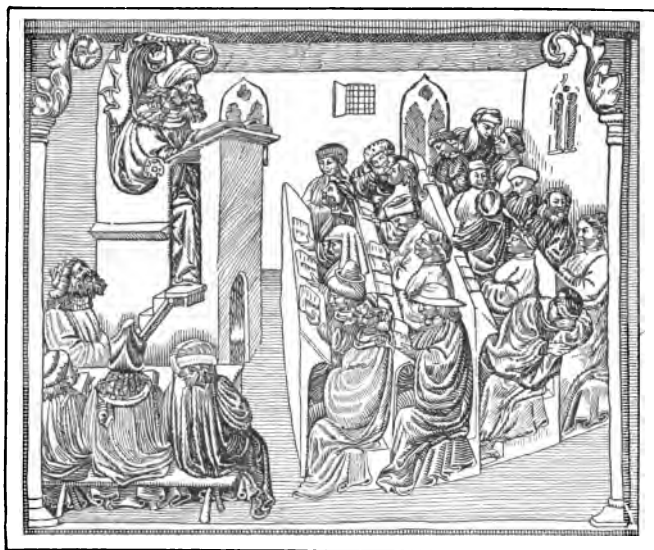


FIG. 17. — UNIVERSITY AUDIENCE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
(From Geiger's *Renaissance und Humanismus*)

in those times all who were eager to acquire knowledge must needs seek some seat of learning, since the scarcity and great cost of manuscript books put home study out of the question. Then, again, many of the pupils attending the nonprofessional courses were mere boys of twelve or thereabouts, — the high-school pupils of to-day; while, on the other hand, the student body embraced many mature men, among whom were to be counted canons, deans, archdeacons, and other dignitaries.

Student life in the earlier university period, before the dormitory and college system was introduced, was unregulated and shamefully disorderly. The age was rough and lawless, and the student class were no better than their age; indeed, in some respects they seem to have been worse. For the student body included many rich young profligates, who found the universities the most agreeable places for idling away their time, as well as many wild and reckless characters who were constantly engaging in tavern brawls, terrorizing the townsmen at night, even waylaying travelers on the public roads, and committing "many other enormities hateful to God."

145. Branches of Study and Methods of Instruction. — The advanced studies given greatest prominence in the universities were the three professional branches of theology, medicine, and law. The natural sciences can hardly be said to have existed, although in alchemy lay hidden the germ of chemistry and in astrology that of astronomy. The Ptolemaic theory, which made the earth the stationary center of the revolving celestial spheres, gave color and form to all conceptions of the structure of the universe.

The method of instruction in all the university departments was the same. It was a servile study of texts, which were regarded with a veneration bordering on superstition. Not even in the physical sciences was there any serious appeal to experience, to observation, to experiment. In anatomy discussions took the place of dissections.² Books were considered better authority than nature herself. "Aristotle," says Ueberweg, "was regarded as the founders of religions are wont to be considered." One venturing to criticise this "Master of those who know" was looked upon as presumptuous and irreverent.

146. Scholasticism; the Province of the Schoolmen. — Springing up within the early ecclesiastical schools and developed within the later universities, there came into existence a method of philosophizing which, from the place of its origin, was called

² At Bologna, where anatomical study was most advanced, each student witnessed only one dissection during the year.

Scholasticism, while its representatives were called Schoolmen, or Scholastics. The chief task of the Schoolmen was the reducing of Christian doctrines to scientific form, the harmonizing of revelation and reason, of faith and science. Viewed in this light, it was not altogether unlike that theological philosophy of the present day whose aim is to harmonize the Bible with the facts of modern science.

147. Peter Abelard. — The most eminent of the early Schoolmen was Peter Abelard (1079–1142). Such a teacher the world had probably not produced since Socrates enchained the youth of Athens. At Paris over five thousand pupils are said to have thronged his lecture room. Driven by the shame of a public scandal to seek retirement, he hid himself first in a monastery and later in a solitude near the city of Troyes. But his admirers followed him into the wilds in such multitudes that a veritable university sprang up around him in his desert retreat.

Abelard's brilliant reputation as a philosopher was tarnished by grave faults of character. Intrusted with the education of a fascinating and mentally gifted maiden, Héloïse by name, Abelard betrayed the confidence reposed in him. A secret marriage bound in a tragic fate the lives of teacher and pupil. The "tale of Abelard and Héloïse" forms one of the most romantic yet saddest traditions of the twelfth century.

148. Scholasticism in the Thirteenth Century. — The thirteenth century was the great age of Scholasticism. Its most illustrious representatives during this period were Albertus Magnus, or "Albert the Great" (d. 1280), who was called "the second Aristotle," and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), known as "the Angelic Doctor." As philosophers these Schoolmen stand to each other in some such relation as did Plato and Aristotle, nor are their names unworthy of being linked with the names of those great thinkers of ancient Greece. The reputation of Aquinas as the greatest Scholastic and theologian of the Middle Ages rests largely upon his prodigious work entitled *Summa Theologiæ*, or "Sum of Theology." The work is regarded as the standard of orthodoxy in the Catholic Church.

The most noteworthy representative of the scientific activity of the Scholastic age was the English Franciscan friar, Roger Bacon (d. 1294), called "the Wonderful Doctor," on account of his marvelous knowledge of mechanics, optics, chemistry, and other sciences. He understood the composition of gunpowder, or a similar explosive, and seemingly the nature of steam; for in one of his works he says that "wagons and ships could be built which would propel themselves with the swiftness of an arrow, without horses and without sails." His contemporaries believed him to be in league with the devil. He suffered persecution and was imprisoned for fourteen years.

149. The Decline of Scholasticism; Services of the Schoolmen to Intellectual Progress. — The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed the decline of Scholasticism. In this period Scholastic debate in the hands of unworthy successors of the earlier great philosophers fell away for the most part into barren disputations over idle and impossible questions. The Schoolmen sank in public estimation and gave place to the humanists (sec. 204).

But notwithstanding this degeneracy of Scholasticism, the Schoolmen as a whole rendered a great service to the intellectual progress of Europe. By their ceaseless debates they sharpened the wits of men, created activity of thought and deftness in argument. They made the universities of the time real mental gymnasia, in which the young awakening mind of Europe was trained and strengthened for its later work.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The "Nations" at the universities. 2. Student life. 3. Abelard and St. Bernard. 4. Roger Bacon.

CHAPTER XVII

GROWTH OF THE NATIONS: FORMATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND LITERATURES

150. Introductory. — The most important political movement that marked the latter part of the Middle Ages was the fusion, in several of the countries of Europe, of the petty feudal principalities and half-independent cities and communes into great nations with strong centralized governments. This movement was accompanied by, or rather consisted in, the decline of feudalism as a governmental system, the loss by the cities of their freedom, and the growth of the power of the kings.

In some countries, however, conditions were opposed to this centralizing tendency, and in these the Modern Age was reached without nationality having been found. But in England, in France, and in Spain circumstances all seemed to tend towards unity, and by the close of the fifteenth century there were established in these countries strong despotic monarchies. Yet even among those peoples where national governments did not appear, some progress was made towards unity through the formation of national languages and literatures, and the development of common feelings and aspirations, so that these races or peoples were manifestly only awaiting the opportunities of a happier period for the maturing of their national life.

The rise of monarchy and decline of feudalism, this substitution of strong centralized governments in place of the feeble, irregular, and conflicting rule of the feudal nobles or of other local authorities, was a very great gain to the cause of law and good order. It paved the way for modern progress and civilization.

I. ENGLAND

151. General Statement. — In earlier chapters we told of the origin of the English people and traced their growth under Saxon, Danish, and Norman rulers. In the present sections we shall tell



very briefly the story of their fortunes under the Plantagenet¹ house and its branches, thus carrying on our narrative to the accession of the Tudors in 1485, from which event dates the beginning of the modern history of England.

The chief events of the period which we shall notice were the loss of the English possessions in France, the wresting of *Magna Carta* from King John, the formation of the House of Commons, the conquest of Wales, the wars with Scotland, the Hundred Years' War with France, and the Wars of the Roses.

152. Loss of the English Possessions in France (1202-1204).—The issue of the battle of Hastings, in 1066, made William of Normandy king of England. But we must bear in mind that he still held his possessions in France as a fief from the French king, whose vassal he was. These Continental lands, save for some short intervals, remained under the rule of William's Norman successors in England. Then, when Henry, Count of Anjou, came to the English throne as the first of the Plantagenets (sec. 96), these territories were greatly increased by the French possessions of that prince. The larger part of Henry's dominions, indeed, was in France, the whole of the western half of the country being in his hands; but for all of this he of course paid homage to the French king.

As was inevitable, a feeling of intense jealousy sprang up between the two sovereigns. The French king was ever watching for some pretext upon which he might deprive his rival of his possessions in France. The opportunity came when John, in 1199, succeeded Richard the Lion-Hearted as king of England. Twice that odious tyrant was summoned by Philip Augustus of France to appear before his French peers and clear himself of certain charges, one of which was the murder of his nephew Arthur. John refused to obey the summons. Philip was finally able, so strong was the feeling against John, to dispossess him of all his lands in France, save a part of Aquitaine in the south.

The loss of these lands was a great gain to England. The Angevin kings had been pursuing a policy which, had it been

¹ The name Plantagenet came from the peculiar badge, a sprig of broom plant (*plante de genêt*), adopted by one of the early members of the house.

successful, would have made England a subordinate part of a great Continental state. That danger was now averted.

153. *Magna Carta* (1215). — *Magna Carta*, the "Great Charter," held sacred as the safeguard of English liberties, was an instrument which the English barons and clergy wrested from King John, and in which the ancient rights and privileges of the people were clearly defined and guaranteed.

King John, as will easily be believed from the revelation of his character already made, surpassed the worst of his predecessors in tyranny and wickedness. His course led to an open revolt of the barons of the realm. The tyrant was forced to bow to the storm he had raised. He met his barons at Runnymede, a flat meadow on the Thames, near Windsor, and there affixed his seal to the instrument that had been prepared to receive it.

Among the important articles of the Great Charter were the following, which we give as showing at once the nature of the venerable document and the kind of grievances of which the people had occasion to complain.

ART. 12. "No scutage² or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom except by the common council of our kingdom, except for the ransoming of our body, for the making of our oldest son a knight, and for once marrying our oldest daughter, and for these purposes it shall be only a reasonable aid;³ . . .

ART. 39. "No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land."

The Great Charter did not create new rights and privileges, but in its main points simply reasserted and confirmed old usages and laws. It was immediately violated by John and afterwards was disregarded by many of his successors; but the people always

² Scutage was a money payment made in commutation of personal military service.

³ This article respecting taxation was suffered to fall into abeyance in the reign of John's successor, Henry III, and it was not until about one hundred years after the granting of *Magna Carta* that the great principle that the people should be taxed only through their representatives in Parliament became fully established.

clung to it as the warrant and safeguard of their liberties, and again and again forced tyrannical kings to renew and confirm its provisions, and swear solemnly to observe all its articles.

Considering the far-reaching consequences that resulted from the granting of *Magna Carta*, — the securing of constitutional liberty as an inheritance for the English-speaking race in all parts of the world, — it must always be considered the most important concession ever wrung from a tyrannical sovereign.

154. Beginnings of the House of Commons (1265). — The reign of Henry III (1216–1272), John's son and successor, witnessed the second important step taken in English constitutional freedom. This was the formation of the House of Commons, the Great Council having up to this time been made up of nobles and bishops. It was again the royal misbehavior — so frequently is it, as Lieber says, that Liberty is indebted to bad kings, though to them she owes no thanks — that led to this great change in the form of the English national assembly.

Henry had violated his oath to observe the provisions of the Great Charter and had become even more tyrannical than his father. In the words of a contemporary, the English were oppressed "like as the people of Israel under Pharaoh." The final outcome was an uprising of the barons and the people similar to that in the reign of King John. It was open war between the king and his people. In a great engagement known as the battle of Lewes, the royal forces were defeated and Henry was taken prisoner (1264).

In order to rally all classes to the support of the cause he represented, Earl Simon de Montfort, the leader of the revolt, now issued, in the king's name, writs of summons to the barons (save the king's adherents), the bishops, and the abbots to meet in Parliament; and at the same time sent similar writs to the sheriffs of the different shires, directing them "to return two knights for the body of their county, with two citizens or burghers for every city and borough contained in it." This was the first time that plain untitled citizens, or burghers, had been called to take their place with the barons, bishops, and knights, in the

great council of the nation, to join in deliberations on the affairs of the realm.⁴

From this gathering, then, may be dated the birth of the House of Commons (1265). Formed as it was of knights and burghers, representatives of the common people, it was at first a weak and timorous body, quite overawed by the great lords, but was destined finally to grow into the controlling branch of the British Parliament.

155. Conquest of Wales (1272-1282).—For more than seven hundred years after the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain the Celtic tribes of Wales maintained among their mountain fastnesses an ever-renewed struggle with the successive invaders of the island,—with Saxon, Dane, and Norman. They were forced to acknowledge the overlordship of some of the Saxon and Norman kings; but they were restless vassals, and were constantly withholding tribute and refusing homage.

When Edward I (1272-1307) came to the English throne, Llewellyn III, who held the overlordship of the Welsh chiefs, refused to render homage to the new king. Edward led a strong army into the fastnesses of the country and quickly reduced his rebel vassal to submission. A few years later and the Welsh patriots were again in arms; but the uprising was soon crushed and Llewellyn was slain (1282). His head, after the barbarous manner of the times, was exposed over the gateway of the Tower of London. The last remnant of Welsh independence was now extinguished. Edward made his little son, born during the campaign, feudal lord of the Welsh, with the title of Prince of Wales; and from that time the title has usually been borne by the eldest son of the English sovereign.

For two centuries after the death of Llewellyn the Welsh were the unwilling and at times rebellious subjects of England. Then occurred a happy circumstance,—the accession to the English

⁴ At first the burghers could take part only in questions relating to taxation, but gradually they acquired the right to share in all matters that might come before Parliament. Just thirty years later (in 1295), in the reign of Edward I, there was gathered through regular constitutional summons what came to be called the Model Parliament, since in its composition it served as a pattern for later Parliaments.

throne of a prince of Welsh descent ; for Henry Tudor, the first of the Tudor dynasty, was the grandson of a Welsh knight named Owen Tudor. With princes of the ancient British race reigning in London, the Welsh, from sullen subjects, were suddenly transformed into enthusiastic and loyal supporters of the English throne.

156. Wars with Scotland (1296-1328). — In 1285 the ancient Celtic line of Scottish chiefs became extinct. A great number of claimants for the vacant throne immediately arose. Chief among these were Robert Bruce and John Balliol, distinguished noblemen of Norman descent, attached to the Scottish court. Edward, who claimed suzerain rights over Scotland, was asked to act as arbitrator and decide to whom the crown should be given. He consented to do so, but only on condition that the Scottish nobles should do homage to him as their overlord. This they were constrained to do. Edward's commissioners then decided the question of the succession in favor of Balliol, who now took the crown of Scotland as the fully acknowledged vassal of the English sovereign (1292).

Balliol soon broke the feudal ties which bound him to Edward and sought an alliance with the French king. In the war that followed the Scots were defeated and Scotland fell back as a forfeited fief into the hands of Edward (1296). As a sign that the Scottish kingdom had come to an end, Edward carried off to London the royal regalia, and with this a large stone, known as the Stone of Scone, upon which the Scottish kings from time out of memory had been accustomed to be crowned. The block was



FIG. 18. — CORONATION CHAIR
IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Beneath the seat is the celebrated Scottish Stone of Scone, which was carried away from Scotland by Edward I

taken to Westminster Abbey and there put beneath the seat of a stately throne chair, which to this day is used in the coronation ceremonies of the English sovereigns.

The two countries were not long united. The Scotch people loved too well their ancient liberties to submit quietly to this extinguishment of their national independence. Under the inspiration and lead of the famous Sir William Wallace, an outlaw knight, all the Lowlands were soon in determined revolt. Wallace gained some successes,⁵ but at length was betrayed into Edward's hands. He was condemned to death as a traitor, and his head, garlanded with a crown of laurel, was fixed on London Bridge (1305). The romantic life of Wallace, his patriotic services, his heroic exploits, and his tragic death at once lifted him to the place that he has ever since held as the national hero of Scotland.

The struggle in which Wallace had fallen was soon renewed by the almost equally renowned hero Robert Bruce (grandson of the Robert Bruce mentioned above), who was the representative of the nobles, as Wallace had been of the common people. With Edward II Bruce fought the great battle of Bannockburn, near Stirling. Edward's army was almost annihilated (1314). It was the most appalling disaster that had befallen the arms of the English people since the memorable defeat of Harold at Hastings.

The independence of Scotland really dates from the great victory of Bannockburn, but the English were too proud to acknowledge it until after fourteen years more of war. Finally, in the year 1328, the young king, Edward III, gave up all claim to the Scottish crown, and Scotland, with the hero Bruce as its king, took its place as an independent power among the nations.

The independence gained by the Scotch at Bannockburn was maintained for nearly three centuries, — until 1603, — when the crowns of England and Scotland were peacefully united in the person of James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England, the founder of the Stuart dynasty of English kings. During the greater part of these three hundred years the two countries were very quarrelsome neighbors.

⁵ Notably a great victory, which is known as the battle of Stirling (1297).

The Hundred Years' War (1338-1453)

157. Causes of the War. — The long and wasteful war between England and France known as the Hundred Years' War was a most eventful one, and its effect upon both England and France was so important and lasting as to entitle it to a prominent place in the records of the closing events of the Middle Ages.

The war with Scotland was one of the things that led up to this war. All through that struggle France, as the old and jealous rival of England, was ever giving aid and encouragement to the Scots. Then the English possessions in France, for which the English king owed homage to the French sovereign as overlord, were a source of constant dispute between the two countries. Trade jealousies also contributed to the causes of mutual hostility. Furthermore, upon the death of Charles IV of France, the last of the direct Capetian line, Edward III laid claim to the French crown in much the same way that William of Normandy centuries before had laid claim to the crown of England.

158. The Battle of Crécy (1346). — The first great combat of the long war was the famous battle of Crécy, in which the English bowmen inflicted upon the French a most terrible defeat. Twelve hundred knights, the flower of French chivalry, and thousands of foot soldiers lay dead upon the field.

The battle of Crécy is memorable for several reasons, but chiefly because feudalism and chivalry there received their death-blow. "The whole social and political fabric of the Middle Ages," writes Green, "rested on a military base, and its base was suddenly withdrawn. The churl had struck down the noble; the bowman proved more than a match, in sheer hard fighting, for the knight. From the day of Crécy feudalism tottered slowly but surely to its grave." The battles of the world were thereafter to be fought and won, not by mail-clad knights with battle-ax and lance, but by common foot soldiers with bow and gun.⁶

⁶ The next two important events of this war were the capture of Calais by the English (1347) and the battle of Poitiers (1356), which was for the French a second Crécy. The battle was followed (in 1360) by the Treaty of Bretigny.

159. The Black Death (1347-1349). — At just this time there fell upon Europe the awful pestilence known as the Black Death. The plague was introduced from the East by way of the trade routes of the Mediterranean, and from the southern countries spread in the course of a few years over the entire continent, its virulence without doubt being greatly increased by the unsanitary condition of the crowded towns and the wretched mode of living of the poorer classes. In many regions almost all the people fell victims to the scourge. Many monasteries were almost emptied. In the Mediterranean and the Baltic ships were seen drifting about without a soul on board. Crops rotted unharvested in the fields; herds and flocks wandered about unattended. It is estimated that from one third to one half of the population of Europe perished. Hecker, an historian of the pestilence, estimates the total number of victims at twenty-five millions. It was the most awful calamity that ever befell the human race.

160. Battle of Agincourt (1415). — During the reign in England of Henry V, France was unfortunate in having an insane king, Charles VI; and Henry, taking advantage of the disorder into which the French kingdom naturally fell under these circumstances, invaded the country with a powerful army, made up largely of archers. On the field of Agincourt the French suffered a most humiliating defeat, their terrible losses falling, as at Crécy, chiefly upon the knighthood. Five years later was concluded a treaty,⁷ according to the terms of which the French crown, upon the death of Charles, was to go to the English king.

161. Joan of Arc; the Relief of Orleans (1429). — But patriotism was not yet wholly extinct among the French people. There were many who regarded the concessions of the treaty as not only weak and shameful but as unjust to the dauphin Charles, who was thereby disinherited, and they accordingly refused to be bound by its provisions. Consequently, when the poor insane king died the terms of the treaty could not be carried out in full, and the war dragged on. The party that stood by their native prince, afterwards crowned as Charles VII, were at last

⁷ The Treaty of Troyes, 1420.

reduced to most desperate straits. The greater part of the country was in the hands of the English, who were holding in close siege the important city of Orleans.

But the darkness was the deep gloom that precedes the dawn. A strange deliverer now appears,—the famous Joan of Arc. This young peasant girl, with soul sensitive to impressions from brooding over her country's wrongs and sufferings, saw visions and heard voices which bade her undertake the work of delivering France. She was obedient unto the heavenly voices.

Rejected by some, yet received by most of her countrymen as a messenger from Heaven, the maiden kindled throughout the land a flame of enthusiasm that nothing could resist. Inspiring the dispirited French



soldiers with new courage, she forced the English to raise the siege of Orleans (from which exploit she became known as the Maid of Orleans), and

speedily brought about the coronation of Prince Charles at Rheims (1429). Shortly afterward she fell into the hands of the English, was tried by ecclesiastical judges for witchcraft and heresy, and was condemned to be burned as a heretic and a witch. Her martyrdom took place at Rouen in the year 1431.

But the spirit of the maid had already taken possession of the French nation. From this on, the war, though long-continued, went steadily against the English. Little by little they were pushed off from the soil they had conquered, and driven out of

FIG. 19. — JOAN OF ARC. (From a photograph of a beautiful painting in the Historical Gallery at Versailles)

We have no authentic likeness of Joan of Arc. The above must be regarded as an idealized portrait

their own Gascon lands of the south as well, until finally they held nothing in the land save Calais. Thus ended, in 1453, the year of the fall of Constantinople, the Hundred Years' War.

162. Effects upon England of the War. — The most important effects of the war as concerns England were the enhancement of the power of the Lower House of Parliament and the awakening of a national spirit. The maintaining of the long and costly quarrel called for such heavy expenditures of men and money that the English kings were made more dependent than hitherto upon the representatives of the people, who were careful to make their grants of supplies conditional upon the correction of abuses or the confirming of their privileges. Thus the war served to make the Commons a power in the English government.

Again, as the war was participated in by all classes alike, the great victory of Crécy and the others which followed, aroused a national pride, which led to a closer union between the different elements of society. Normans and English, enlisted in a common enterprise, were fused by the ardor of a common patriotic enthusiasm into a single people. The real national life of England dates from this time.

The Wars of the Roses (1455-1485)

163. The Two Roses; the Battle of Bosworth Field. — The Wars of the Roses is the name given to a long contest between the adherents of the houses of York and Lancaster, rival branches of the royal family of England. The strife was so named because the Yorkists adopted as their badge a white rose and the Lancastrians a red one. The battle of Bosworth Field (1485) marks the close of the war. In this fight King Richard III, the last of the House of York, was overthrown and slain by Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was crowned on the field with the diadem which had fallen from the head of Richard, and saluted as King Henry VII. With him began the dynasty of the Tudors.

164. The Effects of the Wars. — The first important result of the Wars of the Roses was the ruin of the baronage of England.

One half of the nobility were slain. Those that survived were ruined, their estates having been wasted or confiscated during the progress of the struggle. Not a single great house retained its old-time wealth and influence. The war marks the final downfall of feudalism in England.

The second result of the struggle sprang from the first. This was the great peril into which English liberty was cast by the ruin of the nobility. It was primarily the barons who had forced the Great Charter from King John, and who had kept him and his successors from reigning like absolute monarchs. Upon the ruins of their order was now erected something like a royal despotism. Not until the revolution of the seventeenth century did the people, by overturning the throne of the Stuarts, curb the undue power of the crown and recover their lost liberties.

Growth of the English Language and Literature

165. The Language. — From the Norman Conquest to the middle of the fourteenth century there were in use in England three languages: Norman French was the speech of the conquerors and the medium of polite literature; Saxon, or Old English, was the tongue of the conquered people; while Latin was the language of the laws and records, of the Church services, and of the works of the learned.

Modern English is the old Saxon tongue worn and improved by use, and enriched by a large infusion of Norman-French words, with less important additions from the Latin and other languages. It took the place of the Norman French in the courts of law about the middle of the fourteenth century. At this time the language was broken up into many dialects, and the expression "King's English" is supposed to have referred to the standard form employed in state documents and in use at court.

166. Effect of the Norman Conquest on English Literature. — The blow that struck down King Harold and his brave thanes on the field of Hastings silenced for the space of above a century the voice of English literature. The tongue of the conquerors became

the speech of the court, the nobility, and the clergy; while the language of the despised English was, like themselves, crowded out of every place of honor. But when, after a few generations, the downtrodden race began to reassert itself, English literature emerged from its obscurity, and, with an utterance somewhat changed, — yet unmistakably it is the same voice, — resumed its interrupted lesson and its broken song.

167. Chaucer (1340?–1400). — Holding a position high above all other writers of early English is Geoffrey Chaucer. He is the first in time, and, after Shakespeare, perhaps the first in genius, among the great poets of the English-speaking race. He is reverently called the Father of English Poetry.

Chaucer's greatest and most important work is his *Canterbury Tales*. The poet represents himself as one of a company of story-telling pilgrims who have set out on a journey to the tomb of Thomas Becket at Canterbury. The persons, thirty-two in number, making up the party, represent almost every calling in the middle class of English society. The prologue, containing characterizations of the different members of the company, is the most valuable part of the production. Here as in a gallery we find faithful portraits of our ancestors of the fourteenth century.

168. William Langland. — The genial Chaucer shows us the pleasant, attractive side of English society and life; William



FIG. 20. — PLOWING SCENE. (From a manuscript of the fourteenth century)

Langland, another writer of the same period, in a poem called the *Vision of Piers the Plowman* (1362), lights up for us the world of the poor and the oppressed. This poem quivers with sympathy for the hungry, labor-worn peasant, doomed to a life of

weary routine and helplessness, despised by haughty lords and robbed by shameless ecclesiastics. The long wars with France had demoralized the nation; the Black Death had just reaped its awful harvest among the ill-clad, ill-fed, and ill-housed poor. Occasional outbursts of wrath against the favored classes are the mutterings of the storm soon to burst upon the social world in the fury of the Peasants' Revolt,⁸ and later upon the religious world in the upheavals of the Reformation.

169. John Wycliffe (1324-1384) and the Lollards. — Foremost among the reformers and religious writers of the period under review was John Wycliffe, called "the Morning Star of the Reformation." This bold reformer attacked first many of the practices and then certain of the doctrines of the Church. He gave the English people the first translation of the entire Bible in the English language. By means of manuscript copies it was widely circulated and read. Its influence was very great, and from its appearance may be dated the beginnings of the Reformation in England.

The followers of Wycliffe became known as Lollards (babblers), a term applied to them in derision. They were regarded as heretics, and heretics at that time were hated and feared, at least by those in authority. Parliament passed a law (1401) known as the Statute for the Burning of Heretics, which made it the duty of the proper civil officers, in cases of persons convicted of heresy by the ecclesiastical courts, to receive the same and "before the people, in a high place, cause them to be burnt, that such punishment may strike fear to the hearts of others."

Heretics had been burned in England before the passage of this law, but now for the first time did Parliament by special enactment make this form of punishment the penalty for religious dissent. It was the opening of a sad chapter in English history. Under the statute many persons whose only fault was the teaching or the holding of religious opinions different from those of the Church perished at the stake.

⁸ In 1381 the English peasants rose in revolt, demanding the abolition of serfdom. The uprising was pitilessly suppressed.

II. FRANCE

170. Beginnings of the French Kingdom. — The separate history of France may be regarded as beginning with the partition of Verdun in 843. At that time the Carolingians, of whom we have already learned (Chapter VII), exercised the royal power. Towards the close of the tenth century, in 987, the first of the Capetian dynasty came to the throne.

We shall now direct attention to the important transactions of the period covered by the mediæval Capetian kings. Our special aim will be to give prominence to those matters which concern the gradual consolidation of the French monarchy and the development among the French people of the sentiment of nationality.

France under the Direct Line of the Capetians (987-1328)

171. General Statement. — The Capetian dynasty takes its name from Hugh Capet, Duke of Francia, the first of the house. The direct line embraced fourteen kings, whose united reigns spanned a space of three hundred and forty-one years.

The first Capetian king differed from his vassal counts and dukes simply in having a more dignified title, his power being scarcely greater than that of many of the lords who paid him homage as their suzerain; but before the close of the Middle Ages France had come to be one of the most compact and powerful kingdoms in Europe. How various circumstances conspired to build up the power of the kings at the expense of that of the great feudal lords and of the Church will appear as we go on.

In this place, however, it should be noted that nothing contributed more to the strength and influence of the monarchy during the period of which we are speaking than the fortunate circumstance that for eleven generations, spanning more than three centuries, no French king lacked a son to whom to transmit his authority. With no disputed successions the monarchy grew steadily in power and prestige.

172. The French and the Crusades. — The age of the Capetians was the age of the Crusades. These romantic expeditions, while stirring all Christendom, appealed especially to the ardent temperament of the Gallic race. It was the great predominance of French-speaking persons among the first crusaders which led the Eastern people to call them all Franks, the term still used throughout the East to designate Europeans, irrespective of their nationality.

But it is only the influence of the Crusades on the French monarchy that we need to notice in this place. They tended very materially to weaken the power and influence of the feudal nobility, and in a corresponding degree to strengthen the authority of the crown and add to its dignity. The way in which they brought about this transfer of power from the aristocracy to the king has been already explained in the chapter on the Crusades (sec. 117).

In that same chapter we also saw how the crusade against the Albigenses resulted in the almost total extirpation of that heretical sect and in the final acquisition by the French crown of large and rich territories formerly held by the counts of Toulouse, the patrons of the heretics.

173. Admission of the Third Estate to the National Assembly (1302). — The event of the greatest political significance in the Capetian age was the admission, in the reign of Philip the Fair, of the representatives of the towns to the National Assembly. This transaction is in French history what the creation of the House of Commons is in English history (sec. 154).

A dispute having arisen between Philip and the Pope respecting the control of the offices and revenues of the Church in France (sec. 123), Philip, in order to rally to his support all classes throughout his kingdom, called a meeting of the National Assembly, to which he invited representatives of the burghers, or inhabitants of the towns (1302). This council had hitherto been made up of two estates only, — the nobles and the clergy; now is added what comes to be known as the *Tiers État*, or Third Estate, while the assembly henceforth is called the Estates- or States-General.

Before the growing power of this Third Estate — a power developed, however, outside and not within the National Assembly itself — we shall see the Church, the nobility, and the monarchy all go down, just as in England we shall see clergy, nobles, and king yield to the rising power of the English Commons.

France under the Mediæval Valois⁹ (1328–1498)

174. Effects upon France of the Hundred Years' War. — The main interest of the period of French history upon which we here enter attaches to that long struggle between England and France known as the Hundred Years' War. Having already in connection with English affairs touched upon the causes and incidents of this war, we shall here speak only of the effects of the struggle on the French people and kingdom. Among these must be noticed the almost complete ruin of the French feudal aristocracy, the consequent growth of the power of the king, and the awakening of the national consciousness. Speaking broadly, we may say that by the close of the war feudalism in France was over, and that France had become, partly in spite of the war but more largely by reason of it, not only a great monarchy but a great nation.

175. Louis XI and Charles the Bold of Burgundy. — The foundations of the French monarchy were greatly enlarged and strengthened by the unscrupulous measures of Louis XI (1461–1483), who was a perfect Ulysses in cunning and deceit. His maxim was, "He who does not know how to dissimulate does not know how to reign." The great feudal lords that still retained power and influence he brought to destruction one after another, and united their fiefs to the royal domains.

Of all the vassal nobles ruined by the craft of Louis, the most renowned and powerful was Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Charles was endeavoring, out of a great patchwork of petty feudal states and semi-independent cantons and cities, to build up a

⁹ The House of Valois was a branch of the Capetian family.

kingdom between Germany and France.¹⁰ Louis was frequently warring with the duke and forever intriguing against him. Upon the death of the duke—he was killed in 1477 in a battle with the Swiss—Louis, without clear right, seized a considerable part of his dominions.

By cession and by inheritance Louis also added to France important lands in the south (Provence and other territory), which gave the French kingdom a wider frontage upon the Mediterranean, and made the Pyrenees its southern defense.

176. Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII.—Charles VIII (1483–1498), son and successor of Louis XI, was the last of the mediæval Valois. Through his marriage to Anne of Brittany he brought that great fief, which had hitherto constituted an almost independent state, under the direct rule of the crown.

Charles was a romantic youth. It was his dream to make France instead of Germany the head of the world empire. With a standing army, created during the latter years of the war with England, at his command, he invaded Italy, intent on the conquest of Naples,—to which he laid claim on the strength of an old bequest,—proposing, with that state subdued, to lead a crusade to the East against the Turks.

Charles' march through Italy was a mere "promenade." In the early spring of the year 1495 he entered Naples in triumph. Meanwhile the king of Aragon, the Venetians, and other powers were uniting their armies to punish the insolence and check the vaulting ambition of the would-be emperor and crusader. Only at the cost of a large part of his army did Charles succeed in making good his retreat into France.

This enterprise of Charles is noteworthy not only because it marks the commencement of a long series of campaigns carried on by the French in Italy, but further on account of Charles' army having been made up largely of paid troops instead of

¹⁰ His success would have meant practically a restoration of the old Lotharingian kingdom (see map, p. 46). It seems one of the misfortunes of history that Charles did not succeed in his ambition. Such a kingdom as he planned might have proved a serviceable "buffer state" between France and Germany.

feudal retainers, which fact assures us that the feudal system, as a military organization, had practically come to an end.

The Beginnings of French Literature

177. The Troubadours. — The contact of the old Latin speech in Gaul with that of the Teutonic invaders gave rise there to two very distinct dialects. These were the *Langue d'Oc*, or Provençal, the tongue of the South of France and of the adjoining regions of Spain and Italy; and the *Langue d'Oïl*, or French proper, the language of the North.¹¹

About the beginning of the twelfth century, by which time the Provençal tongue had become settled and somewhat polished, literature in France first began to find a voice in the songs of the Troubadours, the poets of the South. It is instructive to note that it was the home of the Albigensian heresy, the land that had felt the influence of every Mediterranean civilization, that was also the home of the Troubadour literature. The counts of Toulouse, the protectors of the heretics, were also the patrons of the poets. It was the same fierce persecution which uprooted the heretical faith that stilled the song of the Troubadours.

The verses of the Troubadours were sung in every land, and to their stimulating influence the early poetry of almost every people of Europe is largely indebted.

178. The Trouveurs. — These were the poets of Northern France, who composed in the *Langue d'Oïl*, or Old French tongue. They flourished during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As the poetical literature of the South found worthy patrons in the counts of Toulouse, so did that of the North find admiring encouragers in the dukes of Normandy. The compositions of the Trouveurs were chiefly epic or narrative poems, called *romances*. Many of them gather about three familiar names, — Charlemagne, King Arthur, and Alexander the Great,

¹¹ The terms *Langue d'Oc* and *Langue d'Oïl* arose from the use of different words for "yes," which in the tongue of the South was *oc*, and in that of the North *oïl*.

— thus forming what are designated as the cycle of Charlemagne, the Arthurian or Armorican cycle, and the Alexandrian.¹²

The influence of these French romances upon the springing literatures of Europe was most inspiring and helpful. Nor has their influence yet ceased. Thus in English literature not only did Chaucer and Spenser and all the early island poets draw inspiration from these fountains of Continental song, but the later Tennyson, in his *Idylls of the King*, has illustrated the power over the imagination yet possessed by the Arthurian poems of the old Trouveurs.

179. Froissart's Chronicles. — The first great prose writer in French literature was Froissart (b. 1337), whose picturesqueness of style and skill as a story-teller have won for him the title of the "French Herodotus." Born, as he was, only a little after the opening of the Hundred Years' War, and knowing personally many of the actors in that long struggle, it was fitting that he should have become, as he did, the annalist of those stirring times.

III. SPAIN

180. The Beginnings of Spain. — When, in the eighth century, the Saracens swept like a wave over Spain, the mountains of Asturias and Cantabria in the northwest corner of the peninsula afforded a refuge for the most resolute of the Christian chiefs who refused to submit their necks to the Moslem yoke. These brave and hardy warriors not only successfully defended the hilly districts that formed their asylum, but gradually pushed back the invaders and regained control of a portion of the fields and cities that had been lost. By the opening of the eleventh century several little Christian states, among which we must notice especially the states of Castile and Aragon because of the prominent part they were to play in later history, had been established upon the ground thus recovered or always maintained. Castile was at first simply "a line of castles" against the Moors, whence its name.

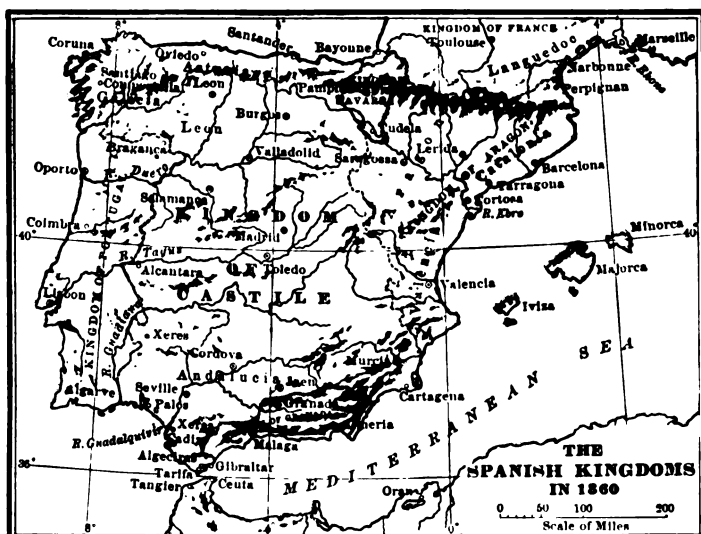
¹² These epics represent the three elements in the civilization of Western Europe, — the German, the Celtic, and the Græco-Roman. It was the Crusades that brought in a fresh relay of tales and legends from the lands of the East.

181. Union of Castile and Aragon (1479).— For several centuries the princes of the little states to which we have referred kept up an incessant warfare with their Mohammedan neighbors; but, owing to dissensions among themselves, they were unable to combine in any effective way for the complete reconquest of their ancient possessions. But the marriage, in 1469, of Ferdinand, prince of Aragon, to Isabella, princess of Castile, paved the way for the virtual union in 1479 of these two leading states into a single kingdom. By this happy union the quarrels of these two rival principalities were composed, and they were now free to employ their united strength in effecting what the Christian princes amidst all their contentions had never lost sight of, — the expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula.

182. The Conquest of Granada (1492).— At the time when the basis of the Spanish monarchy was laid by the union of Castile and Aragon, the Mohammedan possessions, reduced by the constant pressure of the Christian chiefs through eight centuries, embraced only a limited dominion in the south of Spain. Here the Moors had established a strong, well-compacted state, known as the Kingdom of Granada. As soon as Ferdinand and Isabella had settled the affairs of their dominions, they began to make preparation for the reduction of this last stronghold of the Moorish power in the peninsula.

The Moors made a desperate defense of their little state. The struggle lasted for ten years. City after city fell into the hands of the Christian knights, and finally Granada, pressed by an army of seventy thousand, was forced to surrender, and the Cross replaced the Crescent on its walls and towers (1492). The Moors, or Moriscos, as they were called, were allowed to remain in the country, though under many annoying restrictions. What is known as their *expulsion* occurred at a later date (sec. 260).

The fall of Granada holds an important place among the events that mark the last half of the fifteenth century. It marked the end, after an existence of almost eight hundred years, of Mohammedan rule in the Spanish peninsula, and thus formed an offset



THE ALHAMBRA: PALACE OF THE MOORISH KINGS AT GRANADA
(From a photograph)

to the progress of the Moslem power in Eastern Europe and the loss to the Christian world of Constantinople.

183. The Inquisition. — A dark shadow is cast upon the reign of the illustrious sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella by the establishment in Spain of the Inquisition, or Holy Office. This was a tribunal the purpose of which was the detection and punishment of heresy. The Jews were in this earlier period the chief victims of the court. Accompanying the announcement of the sentences of the Holy Office there were solemn public ceremonies known as the *auto de fe* (act of faith). The assembly was held in some church or in the public square, and the following day those condemned to death were burned outside the city walls. It is particularly to this last act of the drama that the term *auto de fe* has come popularly to be applied.

The Inquisition secured for Spain unity of religious belief, but only through suppressing freedom of thought, and thereby sapping the strength and virility of the Spanish people. Whatever was most promising and vigorous was withered and blasted, or was cast out. In the year 1492 the Jews were expelled from the country. It is estimated that between two and three hundred thousand of this race were forced to seek an asylum in other lands.

184. Death of Ferdinand and Isabella. — Queen Isabella died in 1504, and Ferdinand followed her in the year 1516, upon which latter event the crown of Spain descended to their grandson, Charles, of whom we shall hear much hereafter as Emperor Charles V. With his reign the modern history of Spain begins.

Beginnings of the Spanish Language and Literature

185. The Language. — After the union of Castile and Aragon it was the language of the former that became the speech of the Spanish court. Gradually this speech gained ascendancy over the numerous dialects of the country and became at last the national speech just as in France the *Langue d'Oïl* finally crowded out all other dialects. By the conquests and colonizations of the

sixteenth century this Castilian speech was destined to become only less widely spread than is the English tongue.

186. The Poem of the *Cid*. — Castilian or Spanish literature begins in the twelfth century with the romance poem of the *Cid* (that is, *Chief*, the title of the hero of the poem), one of the best known literary productions of the mediæval period. This grand national poem was the outgrowth of the sentiments inspired by the long struggle between the Spanish Christians and the Mohammedan Moors. Its influence in exciting the sentiment of Spanish patriotism and in stimulating the spirit of Spanish nationality has been likened to the effects of the poems of Homer in creating fraternal bonds between the cities of ancient Hellas.

IV. GERMANY

187. Beginnings of the Kingdom of Germany. — The history of Germany as a separate kingdom begins with the break-up of the empire of Charlemagne, about the middle of the ninth century (sec. 68). The part to the east of the Rhine, with which fragment alone we are now specially concerned, was called the Kingdom of the Eastern Franks, in distinction from that to the west of the river, which was known as the Kingdom of the Western Franks. This Eastern Frankish kingdom was made up of several groups of tribes, of which the East Franks were at this time chief. Closely allied in race, speech, manners, and social arrangements, all these peoples seemed ready to be welded into a close and firm nation. That such was not the outcome of the historical development during mediæval times was due largely to the adoption by the German emperors of an unfortunate policy respecting a world empire. This matter will be explained in the following paragraph.

188. Consequences to Germany of the Revival of the Empire by Otto the Great. — We have in another place told how Otto I of Germany, in imitation of Charlemagne, restored the Empire (sec. 68). The pursuit of this phantom by the German kings resulted in the most woeful consequences to Germany. Trying to grasp too much, the German rulers seized nothing at all. Attempting to

be emperors of the world, they failed to become even kings of Germany. While they were engaged in outside enterprises their home affairs were neglected and the vassal princes of Germany succeeded in increasing their power and making themselves practically independent. Thus the unification of Germany was delayed for several hundred years.

Had the emperors inflicted loss and disaster upon Germany alone through this misdirection of their energies, the case would not be so lamentable; but the fair fields of Italy were for centuries made the camping fields of the imperial armies, and the whole peninsula was kept embroiled with the quarrels of Guelphs and Ghibellines,¹⁸ and thus the nationalization of the Italian people was also delayed for centuries.

Germany received just one positive compensation for all this loss accruing from the ambition of her kings. This was the gift of Italian civilization, which came into Germany through the connections of the emperors with the peninsula.

189. The Seven Electors; the Interregnum (1254-1273). — In order to make intelligible the transactions of that period in German history known as the Interregnum, we must first say a word about the Electors of the Empire.

When at the beginning of the tenth century the German Carolingian line became extinct, the great nobles of the kingdom assumed the right of choosing the successor of the last of the house, and Germany thus became an elective feudal monarchy. In the course of time a few of the leading nobles usurped the right of choosing the king, and these princes became known as Electors. There were at the end of the Hohenstaufen period seven princes who enjoyed this important privilege, four of whom were secular princes and three spiritual.

We shall now understand the shameful transaction of the sale of the German crown. The Electors, like the prætorians of ancient Rome, put up the bauble for sale. There were two bidders, both foreigners, Richard of Cornwall, brother of the English king, Henry III, and Alphonso, king of Castile. Both

¹⁸ The Guelphs were adherents of the Pope, and the Ghibellines of the Emperor.

candidates offered the Electors large bribes, and so both were elected, — one of the Electors voting for both candidates.

Of course neither of the emperors-elect possessed any real authority in Germany or in any of the lands claimed as parts of the Empire. Anarchy prevailed throughout the country. Princes made themselves petty despots in their dominions, while the lesser nobles became robbers and preyed upon traders.

190. Towns and Free Imperial Cities. — The kingly power having fallen into such utter contempt, the towns found it necessary, in order to protect themselves against the violence and oppression of the princes and barons, to form confederations and take their defense in their own hands. It was during this anarchical period that the Hanseatic League grew rapidly in strength and influence (sec. 136).

During the course of the thirteenth century many of the towns got rid of the presence of the imperial officers and became what are known as *free imperial cities*. They of course still acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emperor, but were allowed to manage their own affairs to suit themselves, and thus became practically little commonwealths, somewhat like the city-republics of Italy.

191. Rise of the Swiss Republic. — The most noteworthy matters in German history during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are the struggle between the Swiss and the princes of the Hapsburg or Austrian family, the religious movement of the Hussites, and the growing power of the House of Hapsburg.

Embraced within the limits of the mediæval Empire was the country now known as Switzerland. Its liberty-loving people yielded to the Emperor a nominal obedience, like that of the free imperial cities; but they were very impatient of the claims of various feudal lords to political rights and authority over them.

Among the lords claiming or actually possessing rights over different cantons or communities were the counts of Hapsburg.¹⁴

¹⁴ So called from the castle of Hapsburg, in Switzerland, the cradle of the house. In 1273 Count Rudolph of Hapsburg was chosen Emperor. A little later he acquired Austria as an appanage for his house. From this new possession the family took a new title, — that of the House of Austria.

The efforts of the Hapsburgs to bring the mountaineers wholly under their direct power led the three so-called Forest Cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, to form a defensive union, known as the Everlasting Compact (1291). This league laid the basis of the Swiss Confederation, one of the most typical and interesting of the federal states of to-day.

The struggle between the brave hillsmen and the House of Hapsburg was long and memorable.¹⁵ Embellished by Swiss patriotism with thrilling tales of heroic daring and self-devotion, the history of this contest reads like an Iliad. But modern historical criticism has reduced much of the story to prose. Thus the tale of the hero-patriot William Tell and the tyrant Gessler we now know to be a myth, with nothing but the revolt as the nucleus of fact.

192. The Hussites. — About the beginning of the fifteenth century, through the medium of the university connections between England and Germany, the doctrines of the English reformer Wycliffe began to spread in Bohemia. The chief of the new sect was John Huss, a professor of the University of Prague. His teachings were condemned by the great Council of Constance, and Huss himself, having been delivered over into the hands of the civil authorities for punishment, was burned at the stake (1415). The following year Jerome of Prague, another reformer, was likewise burned. Shortly after the burning of Huss a crusade was proclaimed against his followers, who had risen in arms. Then began a cruel, desolating war of fifteen years, the outcome of which was the almost total extermination of the radical party among the Hussites.

193. The Imperial Crown becomes Hereditary in the House of Austria (1438). — In the year 1438 Albert, Duke of Austria, was raised by the Electors to the imperial throne. His accession marks

¹⁵ Noteworthy battles, all victories for the Swiss, were the battle of Morgarten (1315), the battle of Sempach (1386), and the battle of Näfels (1388). It was at Sempach, as a patriotic myth relates, that Arnold of Winkelried broke the ranks of the Austrians by collecting in his arms as many of their lances as he could, and, as they pierced his breast, bearing them with him to the ground, exclaiming, "Comrades, I will open a road for you."

an epoch in German history, for from this time on until the dissolution of the Empire by Napoleon in 1806, the imperial crown was practically hereditary in the Hapsburg family, the Electors, although never failing to go through the formality of an election, always, with one exception, choosing a person of Hapsburg descent.

The greatest of the Hapsburg line during the mediæval period was Maximilian I (1493-1519). The most noteworthy matter of his reign was the efforts made for constitutional reforms which should enable Germany to secure that internal peace and national unity which France, England, and Spain had each already in a fair degree attained. But every effort of this kind failed, because the Electors and princes would not give up any part of their privileges and power.

Beginnings of German Literature

194. The *Nibelungenlied*.— It was during the rule of the Hohenstaufen (1178-1254) that Germany produced the first pieces of a national literature. The *Nibelungenlied*, or the "Lay of the Nibelungs," is the great German mediæval epic. It was reduced to writing about 1200, being a recast of German legends and lays dating from the sixth and seventh centuries. The hero of the story is Siegfried, the Achilles of Teutonic legend and song.

195. The Minnesingers.— Under the same emperors, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Minnesingers, the poets of love as the word signifies, flourished. They were the "Troubadours of Germany."

Closely connected with the lyric poetry of the Minnesingers is a species of chivalric romances known as court epics. The finest of these pieces have for their groundwork the mythic Celtic-French legends of the Holy Grail and of the Knights of King Arthur's Round Table. The best representative of these romances is the poem of *Parsifal*.¹⁶ The moral and spiritual teaching of the poem is that only through humility, purity, and human sympathy can the soul attain perfection.

¹⁶ By Wolfram of Eschenbach (d. about 1220).

V. RUSSIA

196. The Beginnings of Russia ; the Mongol Invasion. — The state established by the Swedish adventurer Rurik (sec. 71) came to be known as Russia, from *Ros*, the name of the Scandinavian settlers. The descendants of Rurik gradually extended their authority over neighboring tribes, until nearly all the northwestern Slavs were included in their growing dominions.

In the thirteenth century an overwhelming calamity befell Russia. This was the overrunning and conquest of the country by the Mongol hordes (sec. 129). The barbarian conquerors inflicted the most horrible atrocities upon the unfortunate land, and for two hundred and fifty years held the Russian princes in a degrading bondage, forcing them to pay homage and tribute. This misfortune delayed for centuries the nationalization of the Slavic peoples. It was just such a misfortune as a little later befell the Greeks and other races of Southeastern Europe (sec. 132).

197. Russia freed from the Mongols. — It was not until the reign of Ivan the Great (1462–1505) that Russia, — now frequently called Muscovy from the fact that it had been reorganized with Moscow as a center, — after a terrible struggle, succeeded in freeing itself from the hateful Tartar domination and began to assume the character of a well-consolidated monarchy. By the end of the Middle Ages Russia had become a great power ; but she was as yet too closely hemmed in by hostile states to be able to make her influence felt in the affairs of Europe.

VI. ITALY

198. No National Government. — In marked contrast to all those countries of which we have thus far spoken, unless we except Germany, Italy came to the close of the Middle Ages without a national or regular government. This is to be attributed, as we have already learned, to a variety of causes, but in large part to that unfortunate rivalry between Pope and Emperor which resulted in dividing Italy into two hostile camps.

And yet the mediæval period did not pass without attempts on the part of patriot spirits to effect some sort of political union among the different cities and states of the peninsula. The most noteworthy of these movements, and one which gave assurance that the spark of patriotism which was in time to flame into an inextinguishable passion for national unity was kindling in the Italian heart, was that headed by the patriot-hero Rienzi in the fourteenth century.

199. Rienzi, Tribune of Rome (1347).—During the greater part of the fourteenth century the seat of the papal see was at Avignon, beyond the Alps (sec. 124). Throughout this period of the "Babylonian Captivity," Rome, deprived of her natural guardians, was in a state of the greatest confusion. The nobles terrorized the country about the capital and kept the streets of the city itself in constant turmoil with their bitter feuds.

In the midst of these disorders there appeared from among the lowest ranks of the people a deliverer in the person of one Nicola di Rienzi. Possessed of considerable talent and great eloquence, Rienzi easily incited the people to a revolt against the rule, or rather misrule, of the nobles, and succeeded in having himself, with the title of Tribune, placed at the head of a new government for Rome. He forced the nobles into submission, and in a short time effected a most wonderful transformation in the city and surrounding country. Order and security took the place of disorder and violence. The best days of republican Rome seemed to have been suddenly restored. The enthusiasm of the Roman populace knew no limits. The remarkable revolution drew the attention of all Italy, and of the world beyond the peninsula as well.

Encouraged by the success that had thus far attended his schemes, Rienzi now began to concert measures for the union of all the principalities and cities of Italy into a great republic, with Rome as its capital. He sent ambassadors throughout Italy to plead at the courts of the princes and in the council chambers of the municipalities the cause of Italian unity and freedom.

The splendid dream of Rienzi was shared by other Italian patriots besides himself, among whom was the poet Petrarch, who

was the friend and encourager of the plebeian tribune, and who "wished part in the glorious work and in the lofty fame."

But the moment for Italy's unification had not yet come. Rienzi proved to be an unworthy leader. His sudden elevation and surprising success completely turned his head, and he soon began to exhibit the most incredible vanity and weakness. The people withdrew from him their support; the Pope excommunicated him as a rebel and heretic; and the nobles rose against him. He was finally killed in a sudden uprising of the populace.

Thus vanished the dream of Rienzi and of Petrarch, of the hero and of the poet. Centuries of division, of shameful subjection to foreign princes, — French, Spanish, and Austrian, — of wars and suffering, were yet before the Italian people ere Rome should become the center of a free, orderly, and united Italy.

200. Savonarola (1452–1498). — A word must here be said respecting the Florentine monk and reformer, Girolamo Savonarola, who stands as the most noteworthy personage in Italy during the closing years of the mediæval period.

Savonarola was at once Roman censor and Hebrew prophet. His powerful preaching alarmed the conscience of the Florentines. At his suggestion the women brought their finery and ornaments, and others their beautiful works of art, and, piling them in great heaps in the streets of Florence, burned them as vanities. But finally the activity of his enemies brought about the reformer's downfall, and he was condemned to death, strangled, his body burned, and the ashes thrown into the Arno.

VII. THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES

201. The Union of Calmar (1397). — The great Scandinavian Exodus of the ninth and tenth centuries drained the Northern lands of some of the best elements of their population. For this reason these countries did not play as prominent a part in mediæval history as they probably would otherwise have done. The constant contentions between the nobility and their sovereigns were also another cause of internal weakness.

In the year 1397, by what is known as the Union of Calmar, the three kingdoms of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden were united under Margaret of Denmark. The treaty provided that each country should retain its constitution and make its own laws. But the treaty was violated, and though the friends of the measure had hoped much from it, it brought only feuds and wars.

Thus the history of these Northern countries during the later mediæval time presents nothing of primary interest which calls for narration here; but early in the Modern Age we shall see Sweden developing rapidly as an independent monarchy and for a period playing an important part in European affairs.

Selections from the Sources. — *Aucassin and Nicolette* (trans. by Andrew Lang). This is the most exquisite love story, in prose and verse, preserved to us from the age of the Troubadours. HENDERSON, *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 1-168. KENDALL, *Source-Book*, chaps. v-vii.

Secondary Works. — (1) Works of a general character: FREEMAN, E. A., *Historical Geography of Europe*, 2 vols. (vol. ii consists of maps). GUIZOT, F. P. G., *History of Civilization in Europe*, Lects. ix and xi. WILSON, W., *The State*; has chapters on the development of the governmental institutions of the leading states. LODGE, R., *The Close of the Middle Ages, 1273-1494*. ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chaps. xiii and xiv.

(2) National histories: The "Story of the Nations" series contains convenient volumes on each of the chief European states. GREEN, J. R., *History of the English People*, parts of vols. i and ii. KITCHIN, G. W., *History of France*, vol. i. HENDERSON, E. F., *History of Germany in the Middle Ages*. HASSALL, A., *The French People*. HUME, M. A. S., *The Spanish People*.

(3) Biographies and books on special topics: In the "Heroes of the Nations" series are to be found separate biographies of many of the great characters of the period under review. LOWELL, F. C., *Joan of Arc*. TREVELYAN, G. M., *England in the Age of Wycliffe*; furnishes the best account we possess of the Peasants' Revolt. POOLE, R. C., *Wycliffe and Movements for Reform*. GASQUET, F. A., *The Great Pestilence*. CHEYNEY, E. P., *An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*, chap. v, "The Black Death and the Peasants' Rebellion." SMITH, J. H., *The Troubadours at Home*, 2 vols.; the best work in our language on the subject with which it deals. MRS. OLIPHANT, *The Makers of Florence*. LEA, H. C., *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. PRESCOTT, W. H., *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Thomas Becket. 2. William Wallace of Scotland. 3. The Black Death. 4. Joan of Arc. 5. Character of Louis XI of France. 6. Charles the Bold of Burgundy. 7. Savonarola.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE RENAISSANCE

202. The Renaissance defined. — By the term *Renaissance* (New Birth), used in its narrower sense, is meant that new enthusiasm for classical literature, learning, and art which sprang up in Italy towards the close of the Middle Ages, and which during the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries gave a new culture to Europe.¹

Using the word in a somewhat broader sense, we may define the Renaissance as the reëntrance into the world of that secular, inquiring, self-reliant spirit which characterized the life and culture of classical antiquity. This is simply to say that under the influence of the intellectual revival the men of Western Europe came to think and feel, to look upon life and the outer world, as did the men of ancient Greece and Rome; and this again is merely to say that they ceased to think and feel as mediæval men and began to think and feel as modern men.

203. Inciting Causes of the Movement in Italy. — Just as the Reformation went forth from Germany and the Political Revolution from France, so did the Renaissance go forth from Italy. And this was not an accident. The Renaissance had its real beginnings in Italy for the reason that all those agencies which were slowly transforming the mediæval into the modern world were here more active and effective in their workings than elsewhere.

Foremost among these agencies must be placed the influence of the Italian cities. We have already seen how city life was more perfectly developed in Italy than in the other countries of Western Europe. In the air of the great Italian city-republics there was nourished a political, intellectual, and artistic life like that of the cities of ancient Greece. Florence, for example, became

¹ By many writers the term is employed in a still narrower sense than this, being used to designate merely the revival of classical art.

a second Athens, and in the eager air of that city individual talent and faculty were developed as of old in the atmosphere of the Attic capital.

A second circumstance that doubtless contributed to make Italy the birthplace of the Renaissance was the fact that in Italy the break between the old and the new civilization was not so complete as it was in the other countries of Western Europe. The Italians were closer in language and in blood to the old



FIG. 21. — DANTE. (From a portrait by S. Tofanelli)

Romans than were the other new-forming nations. The cities themselves were, in a very exact sense, fragments of the old Empire; and everywhere in the peninsula the ground was covered with ruins of the old Roman builders. The influence which these reminders of a great past exerted upon sensitive souls is well illustrated by the biographies of such men as Rienzi and Petrarch.

204. The Two Phases of the Italian Renaissance. — The Renaissance in Italy consisted

of two distinct yet closely related phases, namely, the revival of classical literature and learning, and the revival of classical art. It is with the first only, the intellectual and literary phase of the movement, that we shall be chiefly concerned. This side of the movement is called "Humanism," and the promoters of it are known as "Humanists," because of their interest in the study of the classics, the *literæ humaniores*, or the "more human letters,"

in opposition to the diviner letters, that is, theology, which made up the old education.

205. Dante as a Forerunner of the Renaissance. — Dante Alighieri, "the fame of the Tuscan people," was born at Florence in 1265. He was exiled by the Florentines in 1302, and at the courts of friends learned how hard a thing it is "to climb the stairway of a patron." He died at Ravenna in 1321, and his tomb there is a place of pilgrimage to-day.

It was during the years of his exile that Dante wrote his immortal poem, the *Commedia* as named by himself, because of its happy ending; the *Divina Commedia*, or the "Divine Comedy," as called by his admirers. This poem has been called the "Epic of Mediævalism." It is an epitome of the life and thought of the Middle Ages. But although Dante viewed the world from a standpoint which was essentially that of the mediæval age which was passing away, still he was in a profound sense a prophet of the new age which was approaching, — a forerunner of the Renaissance. He was such in his feeling for classical antiquity. He speaks lovingly of Vergil as his teacher and master, the one from whom he took the beautiful style that had done him honor. His modern attitude towards Græco-Roman culture is further shown in his free use of the works of the classical writers; the illustrative material of his great poem is drawn almost as largely from classical as from Hebrew and Christian sources.

206. Petrarch, the First of the Humanists. — But the first and greatest of the humanists was Petrarch (1304-1374). To understand Petrarch is to understand the Renaissance. He was the first scholar of the mediæval time who fully realized and appreciated the supreme excellence and beauty of the classical literature and its value as a means of culture. His enthusiasm for the ancient writers was a sort of worship. At great cost of time and labor he made a collection of about two hundred manuscript volumes of the classics. Among his choicest Latin treasures were some of Cicero's letters, which he had himself discovered in an old library and reverently copied with his own hand. He could not read Greek, yet he gathered Greek as well as Latin manuscripts. He

had sixteen works of Plato and a revered copy of Homer sent him from Constantinople; and thus, as he himself expressed it, the first of poets and the first of philosophers took up their abode with him. Often he wrote letters to the old worthies, — Homer, Cicero, Vergil, and the rest, — for Petrarch loved thus to record his thoughts, and spent much of his time in the recreation of letter writing; for recreation, and life itself, letter writing was to him.



FIG. 22. — PETRARCH. (From a portrait by *S. Tofanelli*)

Petrarch's enthusiasm for the classical authors became contagious. Fathers reproached him for enticing their sons from the study of the law to the reading of the classics and the writing of Latin verses. But the movement started by Petrarch could not be checked. The impulse he imparted to humanistic studies is still felt in the world of letters and learning.

207. Boccaccio, the Disciple of Petrarch. — Petrarch called into existence a school of

ardent young humanists who looked up to him as their master, and who carried on with unbounded enthusiasm the work of exploring the new spiritual hemisphere which he had discovered. Most distinguished among these disciples was Boccaccio (1313–1375). He industriously collected and copied ancient manuscripts and thus greatly promoted classical scholarship in Italy. Imitating Petrarch, he tried to learn Greek, but, like Petrarch, made very little progress towards the mastery of the language

because of the incompetence of his teacher and also because of the utter lack of text-books, grammars, and dictionaries. He persuaded his teacher, however, to make a Latin translation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and was thus instrumental in giving to the world the first modern translation of Homer. It was a wretched version, yet it served to inspire in the Italian scholars an intense desire to know at first hand Greek literature, — that literature from which the old Roman authors had drawn their inspiration.

208. The Search for Old Manuscripts. — Having now spoken of the pioneers of Italian humanism in the fourteenth century, we can, in our remaining space, touch only in a very general way upon the most important phases of the humanistic movement in the following century.

The first concern of the Italian scholars was to rescue from threatened oblivion what yet remained of the ancient classics. Just as the antiquarians of to-day dig over the mounds of Babylonia for relics of the ancient civilization of the East, so did the humanists ransack the libraries of the monasteries and cathedrals and search through all the out-of-the-way places of Europe for old manuscripts of the classic writers.

The precious manuscripts were often discovered in a shameful state of neglect and in advanced stages of decay. Sometimes they were found covered with mold in damp cells or loaded with dust in the attics of monasteries. This late search of the humanists for the works of the ancient authors saved to the world many precious manuscripts which, a little longer neglected, would have been forever lost.

209. Patrons of the New Learning ; the Founding of Libraries. — This gathering and copying of the ancient manuscripts was costly in time and labor. But there was many a Mæcenas to encourage and further the work. Prominent among these promoters of the New Learning, as it was called, were Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence. It was largely due to their enlightened interest in the great undertaking of recovering for culture the ancient literatures that Florence became the foster home of the intellectual and literary revival.

Among the papal promoters of the movement Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) was one of the most noted. He sent out explorers to all parts of the West to search for manuscripts, and kept busy at Rome a multitude of copyists and translators. A little later Pope Julius II (1503-1513) and Pope Leo X (1513-1521) made Rome a brilliant center of Renaissance art and learning.

Libraries were founded where the new treasures might be safely stored and made accessible to scholars. In this movement some of the largest libraries of Italy had their beginnings. At Rome Pope Nicholas V enriched the original papal collection of books by the addition, it is said, of fully five thousand manuscripts, and thus became the real founder of the celebrated Vatican Library.

210. How the Fall of Constantinople aided the Revival. — The humanistic movement was given a great impulse by the disasters which in the fifteenth century befell the Eastern Empire. Constantinople, it will be recalled, was captured by the Ottoman Turks in 1453. But for a half century before that event the threatening advance of the barbarians had caused a great migration of Greek scholars to the West. So many of the exiles sought an asylum in Italy that one could say: "Greece has not fallen; she has migrated to Italy, which in ancient times bore the name of Magna Græcia."

These fugitives brought with them many valuable manuscripts of the ancient Greek classics still unknown to Western scholars. The enthusiasm of the Italians for everything Greek led to the appointment of many of the exiles as teachers in their schools and universities. Thus there was now a repetition of what took place at Rome in the days of the later republic; Italy was conquered a second time by the genius of Greece.

211. The Invention of Printing. — During the latter part of the fifteenth century the work of the Italian humanists was greatly furthered by the happy and timely invention of the art of printing from movable letters, the most important discovery, in the estimation of Hallam, recorded in the annals of mankind.

The making of impressions by means of engraved and lettered seals or blocks seems to be a device as old as civilization. The

Chinese have practiced this form of printing from an early time. The art appears to have sprung up independently in mediæval Europe. During the first half of the fifteenth century many entire books were produced by the block-printing method.

But printing from blocks was slow and costly. The art was revolutionized by John Gutenberg (1400–1468), a native of Mainz in Germany, through the invention of the movable letters which we call type. The oldest book known to have been printed



FIG. 23. — THE PRINTING OF BOOKS. (From *Early Venetian Printing*)

from movable letters was a Latin copy of the Bible issued from the press of Gutenberg and Faust at Mainz between the years 1454 and 1456. The art spread rapidly, and before the close of the fifteenth century presses were busy in every country of Europe — in the city of Venice alone there were two hundred — multiplying books with a rapidity undreamed of by the patient copyists of the cloister.

The most celebrated of the early printing houses was that established at Venice by Aldus Manutius (1450–1515) and known as the Aldine Press. In the course of a few years Aldus gave to the

appreciative scholars of Europe an almost complete series of the Greek authors, and many Latin and Hebrew texts. In quality of paper and in clearness and beauty of type his editions have never been surpassed.

The work of the Aldine Press at Venice, in connection of course with what was done by presses of less note in other places, made

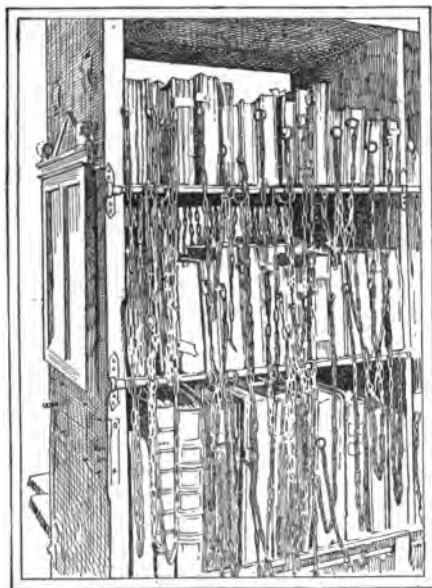


FIG. 24. — CASE OF CHAINED BOOKS
(From Clarke, *The Care of Books*)

In some libraries this practice of chaining the books was kept up even in the eighteenth century

complete the recovery of the classical literatures, and by scattering broadcast the works of the ancient authors rendered it impossible that any part of them should ever again become lost to the world.

212. Humanism crosses the Alps. — As early as the middle of the fifteenth century the German youths had begun to cross the Alps in order to study Greek at the feet of the masters there. As the representative of these young German humanists we may name Reuchlin, who in 1482 journeyed to Italy and presented

himself there before a celebrated teacher of Greek. As a test of his knowledge of the language he was given to translate a passage from Thucydides. The young barbarian—for by this term the Italians of that time expressed their contempt for an inhabitant of the rude North—turned the lines so easily and masterfully that the examiner, who was a native-born Greek, cried out in astonishment, “Our exiled Greece has flown beyond the Alps.”

In transalpine Europe the humanistic movement became blended with other tendencies. In Italy it had been an almost exclusive devotion to Greek and Latin letters and learning; but in the North there was added to this enthusiasm for classical culture an equal and indeed supreme interest in Hebrew and Christian antiquity. The Renaissance, in a word, becomes the Reformation; the humanist becomes the reformer.

213. The Artistic Revival; Why Painting was the Supreme Art of the Italian Renaissance. — As we have already seen, the new feeling for classical antiquity awakened among the Italians embraced not simply the literary side of the Græco-Roman culture but the artistic side as well. Respecting this latter phase of the Italian Renaissance our space allows only a few words.

The characteristic art of the Italian Renaissance was painting,² and for the reason that it best expresses the ideas and sentiments of Christianity. The art that would be the handmaid of the Church needed to be able to represent faith and hope, ecstasy and suffering,—none of which things can well be expressed by sculpture, which is essentially the art of repose.

Sculpture was the chief art of the Greeks, because the aim of the Greek artist was to represent physical beauty and strength. But the problem of the Christian artist is to express emotion through the medium of the body. This cannot be represented in cold, colorless marble. Thus, as Symonds asks, "How could the Last Judgment be expressed in plastic form?" The chief events of Christ's life removed him beyond the reach of sculpture.

Therefore, because sculpture has so little power to express emotion, painting, which runs so easily the entire gamut of feeling, became the chosen medium of expression of the Italian artist. This art alone enabled him to portray the raptures of the saint, the sweet charm of the Madonna, the intense passion of the Christ, the moving terrors of the Last Judgment.

² Yet sculpture was not without eminent representatives. The following names are especially noteworthy: Ghiberti (1378-1455), whose genius is shown in his celebrated bronze gates of the Baptistery at Florence, of which Michael Angelo said that they were worthy to be the gates of Paradise; Brunelleschi (1377-1444); and Michael Angelo (1475-1564).

214. The Four Masters ; Mingling of Christian and Classical Subjects. — The four supreme masters of Italian Renaissance painting were Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), whose masterpiece is his *Last Supper*, on the wall of a convent at Milan ; Raphael (1483–1520), the best beloved of artists, whose Madonnas are counted among the world's treasures ; Michael Angelo (1475–1564), whose best paintings are his wonderful frescoes, among them the *Last Judgment*, in the Sistine Chapel at Rome ; and Titian (1477–1576), the Venetian master, celebrated for his portraits, which have preserved for us in flesh and blood, so to speak, many of the most noteworthy personages of his time.

The earlier Italian painters drew their subjects chiefly from Christian sources. They literally covered the walls of the churches, palaces, and civic buildings of Italy with pictorial representations of all the ideas and imaginings of the mediæval ages respecting death, the judgment, heaven, and hell. The later artists, more under the influence of the classical revival, mingled freely pagan and Christian subjects and motives, and thus became truer representatives than their predecessors of the Renaissance movement, one important issue of which was to be the blending of pagan and Christian culture.

215. Evil and Good Results of the Classical Revival. — There were some serious evils inherent in the classical revival. In Italy, especially, where the humanistic spirit took most complete possession of society, it was "disastrous to both faith and morals." The study of the old pagan writers produced the result predicted by the monks, — caused a revival of paganism. To be learned in Greek was to excite suspicion of heresy. With the New Learning came also those vices and immoralities that characterized the decline of classical civilization. Italy was corrupted by the new influences that flowed in upon her, just as Rome was corrupted by Grecian luxury and vice in the days of the failing Republic.

On the other hand, the benefits of the movement to European civilization were varied and positive. First, the humanistic revival revolutionized education. During the Middle Ages the Latin language had degenerated, for the most part, into a barbarous jargon,

while Greek had been forgotten. Humanism restored to the world the pure classical Latin, rediscovered the Greek language, and recovered for civilization the once-rejected heritage of the ancient classics. Chairs in both the Greek and Latin languages and literatures were now established, not only in the new universities which arose under the inspiration of the New Learning, but also in the old ones. The Scholastic method of instruction, of which we spoke in a preceding chapter, was gradually superseded by this so-called classical system of education, which dominated the schools and universities of the world down to the incoming of the scientific studies of the present day.

Second, the classical revival gave to Europe not only faultless literary models but also large stores of valuable knowledge. As President Woolsey says: "The old civilization contained treasures of permanent value which the world could not spare, which the world will never be able or willing to spare. These were taken up into the stream of life, and proved true aids to the progress of a culture which is gathering in one the beauty and truth of all the ages."

Selections from the Sources. — ROBINSON and ROLFE, *Petrarch*. This volume contains a selection from Petrarch's "correspondence with Boccaccio and other friends, designed to illustrate the beginnings of the Renaissance." The student should begin his readings on this subject with this delightful book. WHITCOMB, *Source-Book of the Renaissance*, Part I. An excellent little book, which forms a good supplement to the preceding work. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. i, chap. xxii.

Secondary Works. — The literature on the Renaissance is very extensive; we shall suggest only a few titles. SYMONDS, J. A., *The Renaissance in Italy*, 7 vols.; the best extended history in English. BURCKHARDT, J., *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*; the most philosophical and suggestive work on the subject. MRS. OLIPHANT, *Makers of Florence and Makers of Venice*. ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. xv. MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Medieval Civilization*, pp. 277-309. PUTNAM, G. H., *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*, vol. i, Part II, "The Earlier Printed Books." GRIMM, H., *The Life of Michael Angelo*, 2 vols.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Dante's *Divine Comedy*. 2. The ruins of Rome in mediæval times. 3. Petrarch's ascent of Mount Ventoux. 4. Chrysoloras, the Greek teacher. 5. The Aldine Press.

DIVISION II—THE MODERN AGE

THIRD PERIOD—THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION

(From the Discovery of America, in 1492, to the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648)

CHAPTER XIX

GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AND THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN COLONIZATION

216. Preliminary Statements. — As an introduction to the history of the Modern Age, we shall give a brief account of the voyages and geographical discoveries of Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Magellan, and of the beginning of European conquests and settlements in the New World, inasmuch as these great events lie at the opening of the era and form the prelude of its story.

It should here be noted that the great ocean voyages of the times were rendered possible only by the fortunate invention of the mariner's compass,¹ whose trusty guidance emboldened the navigator to quit the shore and push out upon hitherto untraversed seas.

217. Portuguese Explorations; Prince Henry the Navigator. — Many incentives concurred to urge daring navigators in the later mediæval time to undertake voyages of discovery, but a chief motive was a desire to find an ocean route from Europe to the Indies.

¹ It is a disputed question as to what people should be given the credit of the discovery of the properties of the magnetic needle. In a very primitive form the compass was certainly in use among the Chinese as early as the eighth century of our era. There is no reliable record of its use by European navigators before about the middle of the thirteenth century. It seems most probable that a knowledge of the instrument was gained in the East by the crusaders (sec. 117).

The first attempts to reach these lands by an all-sea route were made by sailors feeling their way down the western coast of the African continent. The favorable situation of Portugal upon the Atlantic seaboard caused her to become foremost in these enterprises. The soul and inspiration of all this maritime enterprise was Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460).

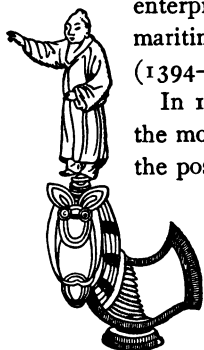


FIG. 25. — A CHINESE
MAGNET FIGURE.
(After *Beazley*)

A rude form of the compass used by early Chinese sailors. The little wooden figure was set on a pivot, and in the outstretched arm was placed a bar of magnetized iron

In 1486 Bartholomew Dias succeeded in reaching the most southern point of the continent, which, as the possibility of reaching India by sea now seemed assured, was later given the name of Cape of Good Hope. But at the same time it was a disappointment to the Portuguese to find that Africa extended so far to the south. Even should India be reached, the way, it was now known, would be long and dangerous. This knowledge stimulated efforts to reach the Indies and the "place of spices" by a different and shorter route.

218. Columbus in Search of a Westward Route to the Indies finds the New World (1492).—It was Christopher Columbus, a Genoese by birth, who now proposed the bold plan of reaching these eastern lands by sailing westward. The sphericity of the earth was a doctrine held by all the really learned men of this time. This notion was also familiar to many at least of the common people; but they, while vaguely accepting the view that the earth is round, thought that the habitable part was a comparatively flat, shieldlike plain on the top of it. All the rest they thought to be covered by the waters of a great ocean.

In his endeavors to secure a patron for his enterprise, Columbus met at first with repeated repulse and disappointment. At last, however, he gained the ear of Queen Isabella of Spain; a little fleet was fitted out for the explorer,—and the New World was found.

The return of Columbus to Spain with his vessels loaded with the strange animal and vegetable products of the new lands he had found, together with several specimens of the inhabitants, — a race of men new to Europeans, — produced the profoundest sensation among all classes. Curiosity was unbounded. The spirit of hazardous enterprise awakened by the surprising discovery led to those subsequent undertakings by Castilian adventurers which



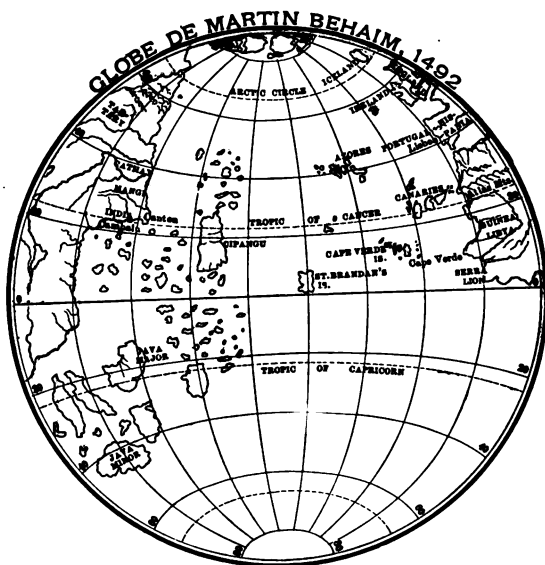
FIG. 26. — CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. (After the Capriolo portrait; from the *Columbus Memorial Volume*)

make up the most thrilling pages of Spanish history.

Columbus made altogether four voyages to the new lands; still he died in ignorance of the fact that he had really discovered a new world. He supposed the land he had found to be some part of the Indies, whence the name "West Indies" which still clings to the islands between North and South America, and the

term "Indians" applied to the aborigines. It was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that it became fully established that a great new double continent, separated from Asia by an ocean wider than the Atlantic, had been found.

Columbus never received a fitting reward for the great service he had rendered mankind. Even the continent to which he had shown the way, instead of being called after him as a perpetual memorial, was named from a Florentine navigator, Amerigo Vespucci, whose chief claim to this distinction was his having written the first widely published account of the new lands.



219. The Voyage of Vasco da Gama (1497-1498); the Portuguese create a Colonial Empire in the East. — We have seen that the Portuguese navigators, in their search for an ocean route to the Indies, had, before the first voyage of Columbus, reached the southern point of Africa. A little later, six years after the discovery of the New World, Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese admiral, doubled the Cape, crossed the Indian Ocean, and landed on the coast of Malabar.

The discovery of an unbroken water path to India effected most important changes in the trade routes and traffic of the world. It made the port of Lisbon the depot of the Eastern trade. The merchants of Venice were ruined. The great warehouses of Alexandria were left empty. The old route to the Indies by way of the Red Sea, which had been from time immemorial a main line of communication between the Far East and the Mediterranean lands, now fell into disuse, not to be reopened until the construction of the Suez Canal in our own day.

Portugal dotted the coasts of Africa and Asia, the Moluccas and other islands of the Pacific archipelago, with fortresses and factories, and built up in these parts a great commercial empire, and, through the extraordinary impulse thus given to the enterprise and ambition of her citizens, now entered upon the most splendid era of her history.

220. The Papal Line of Demarcation. — Upon the return of Columbus from his successful expedition, Pope Alexander VI, with a view to adjusting the conflicting claims of Spain and Portugal, issued a bull wherein he drew from pole to pole a line of demarcation through the Atlantic one hundred leagues west of the Azores (the line was afterwards moved two hundred and seventy leagues farther west), and gave to the Spanish sovereigns all pagan lands, not already in possession of Christian princes, that their subjects might find west of this line, and to the Portuguese kings all unclaimed pagan lands discovered by Portuguese navigators east of the designated meridian. By treaty arrangements, as well as by papal edicts, the Portuguese were prohibited from sailing any of the seas thus placed under the dominion of Spain or from visiting as traders any of her lands, and the

Spaniards from trespassing upon the waters or the lands granted to the Portuguese.

Spain was thus shut out from the use of the Cape route to the Indies which had been opened up by Vasco da Gama, and consequently from participation in the coveted spice trade, unless perchance a way to the region of spices could be found through some opening in the new lands discovered by Columbus.

221. The Circumnavigation of the Globe by Magellan (1519–1522).—Such was the situation of things when Ferdinand Magellan, a navigator of Portuguese birth, laid before the young Emperor Charles V, grandson of the Isabella who had given Columbus his commission, his plan of reaching the Moluccas, or “Spice Islands,” which he contended were in Spanish waters,² by a westward voyage. The young king looked with favor upon the navigator’s plans, and placed under his command a fleet of five small vessels.

Magellan directed his ships in a southwesterly course across the Atlantic, hoping to find towards the south a break in the new-found lands. Near the most southern point of South America he found the narrow strait that now bears his name. Through this channel the bold sailor pushed his vessels and found himself upon a great sea with a blank horizon to the west. From the calm, unruffled face of the new ocean, so different from the stormy Atlantic, he gave to it the name *Pacific*.

After a most adventurous voyage upon the hitherto untraversed waters of the new sea, the expedition reached the group of islands now known as the Philippines, having been so named in honor of Philip II, Charles’ son and his successor on the Spanish throne. The year following the discovery of the Philippines a single battered ship of the fleet, the *Victoria*, with eighteen men out of the original crews of over two hundred sailors, entered the Spanish port of Seville. The globe had for the first time been circumnavigated. “In the whole history of human undertakings,” says Draper, “there is nothing that exceeds, if, indeed, there is

² There was difficulty in determining just where among the islands lying southeast of Asia the papal line of demarcation, when carried around the globe, should run.

anything that equals, this voyage of Magellan's. That of Columbus dwindles away in comparison."

Equally does the exploit seem to have impressed the imagination of Magellan's own age. The old writer Richard Eden (b. about 1521) refers to it as "a thing doubtless so strange and marvelous that, as the like was never done before, so is it perhaps never like to be done again; so far have the navigations of the Spaniards excelled the voyage of Jason and the Argonauts to the region of Colchis, or all that ever were before"; and a Spanish contemporary declares, "Nothing more notable in navigation has ever been heard of since the voyage of the patriarch Noah."

The results of the achievement were greatest in the intellectual realm. It revolutionized whole systems of mediæval theory and belief; it pushed aside old narrow geographical ideas; it settled forever and for all men the question as to the shape and size of the earth. It brought to an end the scholastic controversy concerning the antipodes, — that is, whether there were men living on the "under" side of the earth. The state of most men's minds in regard to this matter had till then been just about the same as is ours to-day on the question whether or not the planets are inhabited.⁸

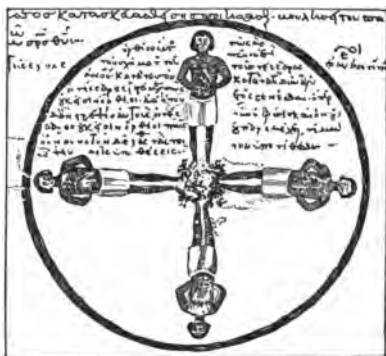


FIG. 27. — "THE ANTIPODES IN DERISION." (From Cosmas, *Christian Topography*; after Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*)

Cosmas lived in the sixth Christian century. In the cut here reproduced from his *Topography*, he ridicules the idea of a round earth with people on the under side whose heads hang downwards. The views of Cosmas as to the existence of an antipodal people had defenders throughout the mediæval centuries

⁸ It is worthy of note that while Columbus, Magellan, and others were making known the truth about the earth itself, Nicholas Copernicus (1473-1543) was

222. The Five Early Colonial Empires. — One of the most important outcomes of the voyages and geographical discoveries of which we have been speaking was the expansion of the five states on the Atlantic seaboard of Europe — namely, Portugal, Spain, France, the Netherlands, and England — each into a great empire, embracing colonies and dependencies in two hemispheres. This expansion of Europe into Greater Europe holds somewhat such a place in modern history as the expansion of Hellas into Greater Hellas and of Rome into Greater Rome holds in ancient history.

In the mutual jealousies and conflicting interests of these growing colonial empires is to be found the ground and cause of many of the great wars of modern times since the close of the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For this reason, although it is our special task to trace the lines of the historic development in Europe, we shall from time to time call the reader's attention to these European interests outside of the European continent. In the present connection a few words in regard to Spanish conquests and the beginnings of Spanish colonization in the New World will suffice.

223. The Conquest of Mexico (1519-1521). — The accounts of Spanish explorations and conquests in the lands opened up by the fortunate voyage of Columbus read more like a romance than any other chapter in history.⁴ Perhaps the most brilliant exploit in which the Spanish cavaliers engaged during this period of daring adventure was the conquest of Mexico. Reports of a rich and powerful "Empire" upon the mainland to the west were constantly spread among the Spanish colonists who very soon after the discovery of the New World settled the islands in the

discovering its true place in the solar system. He had quite fully matured his theory by the year 1507, but, fearing the charge of heresy, he did not publish the great work embodying his views until thirty-six years later (in 1543). The Copernican theory, however, had little influence on the thought of the sixteenth century. It was denounced as contrary to Scripture by both Catholics and Protestants, and was almost universally rejected for more than a hundred years after its first publication.

⁴ Juan Ponce de Leon started on his romantic expedition in search of the fabled Fountain of Youth in 1512; Vasco de Balboa discovered the Pacific in 1513; Hernando de Soto, while searching for a rich Indian kingdom, found the Mississippi in 1541.

Gulf of Mexico. These stories inflamed the imagination of adventurous spirits among the settlers, and an expedition, consisting of five or six hundred foot soldiers and sixteen horsemen, was organized and placed under the command of Hernando Cortes for the conquest and "conversion" of the heathen nation. The expedition was successful, and soon the Spaniards were masters of the greater part of what now constitutes the republic of Mexico.

The state that the conquerors destroyed was not an empire, as termed by the contemporary Spanish chroniclers, but rather a sort of league, or confederacy, — something like the Iroquois confederacy in the North, — formed of three Indian tribes.⁵ Of these the Aztecs were the leading tribe and gave name to the confederacy. At the head of the league stood a sachem, or war-chief, who bore the name of Montezuma.

The Mexican Indians had taken some steps in civilization. They employed a system of picture writing, and had cities and temples. But they were cannibals and offered human victims in their sacrifices. They had no knowledge of the horse or the ox, or of any other useful domesticated animal except the dog.⁶ They cultivated maize, but were without wheat, oats, or barley.

224. The Conquest of Peru (1532–1536). — Shortly after the conquest of the Indians of Mexico the subjugation of the Indians of Peru was effected. The civilization of the Peruvians was superior to that of the Mexicans. It has been compared, as to several of its elements, to that of ancient Assyria. Not only were the great cities of the empire filled with splendid temples and palaces, but throughout the country were to be seen magnificent works of public utility, such as roads, bridges, and aqueducts. The government of the Incas, the royal or ruling race, was a mild, paternal autocracy.

⁵ Prescott's description of the Mexican state, especially as to its political organization, is misleading. For later authorities see bibliography at end of the chapter.

⁶ It has been conjectured that the backwardness in civilization of the native races of the Americas is to be attributed in part to their lack of useful tame animals. See Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, vol. i, p. 27. Aside from the llama, the alpaca, and the turkey, the New World has contributed nothing of essential value to the great store of domesticated stocks which constitute the basis of so large a part of modern industry.

Glowing reports of the enormous wealth of the Incas, the commonest articles in whose palaces, it was asserted, were of solid gold, reached the Spaniards by way of the Isthmus of Darien, and it was not long before an expedition, consisting of less than two hundred men, was organized for the conquest of the country. The leader of the band was Francisco Pizarro, an iron-hearted, cruel, and illiterate adventurer.

Through treachery Pizarro made a prisoner of the Inca, Atahualpa. The captive offered, as a ransom for his release, to fill the room in which he was confined "as high as he could reach" with vessels of gold. Pizarro accepted the offer, and the palaces and temples throughout the empire were stripped of their golden vessels, and the apartment was filled with the precious relics. The value of the treasure is estimated at over \$15,000,000. When this vast wealth was once under the control of the Spaniards, they seized it all, and then treacherously put the Inca to death (1533). With the death of Atahualpa the power of the Inca dynasty passed away forever.

225. Beginnings of Spanish Colonization in the New World. — Not until more than one hundred years after the discovery of the Western Hemisphere by Columbus was there established a single permanent English settlement within the limits of what is now the United States; but into those parts of the new lands opened up by Spanish exploration and conquest there began to pour at once a stream of Spanish adventurers and colonists in search of fortune and fame. Upon the West India Islands, in Mexico, in Central America, all along the Pacific slope of the Andes, and everywhere upon the lofty and pleasant tablelands that had formed the heart of the empire of the Incas there sprang up rapidly cities as centers of mining and agricultural industries, of commerce and of trade. Often, as in the case of Mexico, Quito, and Cuzco, these new cities were simply the renovated and rebuilt towns of the conquered natives.

Thus did a Greater Spain grow up in the New World. Before the close of the sixteenth century the dominions of the Spanish monarch in the new lands formed of themselves a magnificent

empire, and were the source of a large revenue to the royal exchequer. It was, in part, the treasures derived from these new possessions that enabled the sovereigns of Spain to play the important part they did in the affairs of Europe during the century following the discovery of America.⁷

Selections from the Sources.—*Cathay and the Way Thither* (ed. by Colonel Henry Yule). The student here learns with what knowledge of Eastern Asia Columbus and the others set out, and what they expected to find. *The Journal of Christopher Columbus* (Hakluyt Society publications). *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 29, 31–36, 39, 71, 89, 90, 102. *The First Three English Books on America* (ed. by Edward Arber). This work possesses a special fascination. "One is able therein," as says the editor, "to look out on the New World as its discoverers and first explorers looked upon it."

Secondary Works.—KEANE, J., *The Evolution of Geography*, chaps. v–viii. BEAZLEY, C. R., *Prince Henry the Navigator*. There are numerous lives of Columbus: WINSOR'S, IRVING'S, and C. K. ADAMS' are recommended. GUILLEMARD, F. H. H., *The Life of Ferdinand Magellan*. FISKE, J., *The Discovery of America*, 2 vols. There is not a chapter here that will fail to interest and charm young readers. *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. i, chap. i, "The Age of Discovery"; and chap. ii, "The New World." BOURNE, E. G., *Essays in Historical Criticism*, Essay No. 6, "Prince Henry the Navigator," and Essay No. 7, "The Demarcation Line of Pope Alexander VI"; and *Spain in America* (1450–1580). PRESCOTT, W. H., *Conquest of Mexico* and *Conquest of Peru* (various editions). STEPHENS, H. MORSE, *Albuquerque*. PAYNE, E. J., *History of the New World called America*, vol. i, pp. 303–364; for the relation of the aboriginal civilizations of the Americas to their animal and plant life.

Topics for Class Reports.—1. Prince Henry the Navigator. 2. The naming of America. See article by Professor E. G. Bourne, in *The American Historical Review* for October, 1904. 3. Civilization of the Peruvians.

⁷ After having robbed the Indians of their wealth in gold and silver, the slow accumulations of centuries, the Spaniards further enriched themselves by the enforced labor of the unfortunate natives. Unused to such toil as was exacted of them under the lash of worse than Egyptian taskmasters, the Indians wasted away by millions in the mines of Mexico and Peru, and upon the sugar plantations of the West Indies. More than half of the native population of Peru is thought to have been consumed in the Peruvian mines. As a substitute for native labor, negroes were introduced. This was the beginning of the African slave trade in the New World. At the outset the traffic was approved by a benevolent bishop named Las Casas (1474–1566), known as the "Apostle of the Indians." Before his death, however, Las Casas came to recognize the wickedness of negro as well as of Indian slavery, and to regret that he had ever expressed approval of the plan of substituting one for the other. See Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, vol. ii, pp. 454–458.

SUGGESTION TO TEACHERS — COMPARATIVE STUDY

In no way, we think, will the teacher be able to give his pupils so clear an idea of the character of the sixteenth century as by having them make a comparative study of that century and the nineteenth. The striking parallels which they will discover between the two periods will be sure to suggest to them that "the wonderful nineteenth century," as it is called by Alfred Russel Wallace, like the sixteenth, may be a transition period, a period which will be regarded by the future historian as we regard the sixteenth, — as the beginning of a new age in history. The following will suggest in what realms parallels may be sought.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- a. The New Learning. Great intellectual activity.
- b. The Reformation. Revision of creeds. Relation of the religious movement to the Renaissance.
- c. The unification of great nations, — England, France, Spain.
- d. The expansion of Europe; the partition of the New World and of Southern Asia. The formation of colonial empires, — Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and English.
- e. Great geographical and astronomical discoveries (Columbus, Copernicus), which reveal the universe as infinite in *space*. Man's conceptions of the earth and its place in the universe revolutionized.
- f. Great inventions, now first hit upon or brought into general use, — printing, gunpowder, and the mariner's compass. Political, social, and economic revolutions caused or promoted by them.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- a. The New Sciences. Great intellectual activity.
- b. The New Theology. Revision of creeds. Relation of this movement to the birth of the new scientific spirit.
- c. The unification of great nations, — Germany, Italy.
- d. The expansion of Europe; the partition of Africa and of Oceania. The formation of new colonial empires, — English, French, German, Belgian, and American.
- e. Great geological and biological discoveries (*Evolution* — Lyell, Darwin), which reveal the universe as infinite in *time*. Man's conceptions as to his origin and his place in the plan of creation revolutionized.
- f. Great inventions, — the steam railway, the ocean steamship, the electric telegraph, electric motor, etc. Political, social, and economic revolutions caused or furthered by their introduction.

CHAPTER XX

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMATION

226. Introductory Statement. — When the Modern Age opened the European peoples were on the eve of a great religious revolution known as the Reformation. In the present chapter we shall speak of the causes and the beginnings of this revolution in Germany.

227. Extent of Rome's Spiritual Authority at the Opening of the Sixteenth Century. — In a preceding chapter on the Papacy it was shown how nearly perfect at one time was the obedience of the West not only to the spiritual but also to the temporal authority of the Pope. It was also shown how the papal claim of the right to a certain oversight of temporal or governmental affairs was practically rejected by the princes and sovereigns of Europe as early as the fourteenth century (sec. 122). But previous to the opening of the sixteenth century there had been comparatively few — there had been some, like the Albigenes in the south of France, the Wyckliffites in England, and the Hussites in Bohemia — who denied the supreme and infallible authority of the bishops of Rome in matters purely religious. Speaking in a very general manner, it would be correct to say that at the close of the fifteenth century all the nations of Western Europe professed the faith of the Catholic Church and yielded spiritual obedience to the papal see.

228. Causes of the Reformation. — We must now seek the causes which led one half of the nations of Europe to secede from the papal Church. There were various causes. One cause was the Renaissance, that great intellectual awakening which marked the close of the mediæval and the opening of the modern epoch. The promoters of the New Learning and the upholders of the old Scholastic theology came into collision (sec. 263), and this helped to prepare the way for the great schism.

A second cause of the revolution was the existence in the Church of most serious scandals. The necessity of the thorough reform of the Church, in both "head and members," was recognized by all earnest and spiritually minded men. The only difference of opinion among such was as to the manner in which the work of renovation should be effected, whether from within or from without, by reform or by revolution.

A third cause was jealousy of the Papacy on the part of the temporal princes. It is true that the claims to temporal supremacy put forward by some of the mediæval popes were no longer maintained; still there remained a very large field embracing matters such as appointment or nomination to Church offices, the taxation of the clergy and of Church property, questions concerning marriages, wills, and so on, which the popes as the guardians of religion claimed the right to regulate or to review. Thus the nations were really very far from being independent. As respects many matters they were virtually provinces of an ecclesiastical world empire centered at Rome.

But foremost among the proximate causes, and the actual *occasion* of the revolution, was the controversy which arose about the doctrine of Indulgences. An Indulgence, as defined by Catholic theologians, is the remission of that temporal¹ punishment which often remains due on account of sin after its guilt has been forgiven. It is granted on the performance of some work of piety, charity, or mercy, which often includes an alms to the poor or a gift of money to promote some good work, and takes effect only upon certain conditions, among which is that of confession of sin and sincere repentance.

Before the time of the Reformation, Indulgences had been frequently granted by various pontiffs, with different objects in view. A great part of the money for the building of St. Peter's at Rome was obtained in this manner.

229. Tetzel and the Preaching of Indulgences. — Leo X, upon his election to the papal dignity in 1513, found the coffers of the

¹ By "temporal" punishment is meant penances imposed by the Church and the temporary pains of purgatory, as opposed to the *eternal* punishment of hell.

Church almost empty, and being in pressing need of money to carry on his various undertakings, among which was work upon St. Peter's, he had recourse to the now common expedient of a grant of Indulgences. He delegated the power of dispensing these in a great part of Germany to Archbishop Albert of Mainz. As his deputy, Albert employed a Dominican friar by the name of John Tetzel.

The archbishop was unfortunate in the selection of his agent. Tetzel carried out his commission in such a way as to give rise to a great scandal. The language that he and his subordinates used in exhorting the people to comply with the conditions of gaining the Indulgences — one of which was a donation of money — was unseemly and exaggerated. The result was that erroneous views as to the effect of Indulgences began to spread among the ignorant and credulous, many being so far misled as to think that if they only contributed this money to the building of St. Peter's in Rome they would be exempt from all penalty for sins, paying little heed to the other conditions, such as sorrow for sin and purpose of amendment. Hence serious persons were led to declaim against the procedure of the zealous friar. These protests were the near mutterings of a storm that had long been gathering, and that was soon to shake all Western Christendom.

230. Martin Luther. — Foremost among those who opposed and denounced the methods used by Tetzel was Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk and teacher of theology in the University of Wittenberg. This great reformer was born in Saxony in 1483. He was of humble parentage, his father being a poor miner. Just as a career planned by his father in the profession of the law was opening before him, he suddenly turned his back upon the world and entered a convent. Before Tetzel appeared in Germany, Luther had already earned a wide reputation for learning and piety.

231. The Ninety-Five Theses (1517). — When Tetzel began in the neighborhood of Wittenberg the preaching of Indulgences in the scandalous manner to which we have just alluded, Luther was

greatly distressed. He drew up in protest ninety-five theses bearing on Indulgences, and nailed them upon the door of the castle church at Wittenberg. It was a custom of those times for a scholar thus to post propositions which he was willing to maintain against any and all comers. An examination of the theses shows



FIG. 28. — MARTIN LUTHER. (After the portrait by *Lucas Cranach, the elder*; Uffizi Gallery, Florence)

that Luther at this time still held the generally accepted view both as to purgatory and the validity of Indulgences, and that his protest was aimed only at abuses.

By means of the press the theses were spread broadcast. They were eagerly read and commented upon by all classes, particularly in Germany. Tetzel issued counter-propositions. The air was thick with controversial leaflets. At first Pope Leo had been inclined to make light of the whole matter, but at length he felt constrained to take decisive measures against

Luther. The monk was to be silenced by means of a papal bull.

232. Luther's "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" (July, 1520). — Luther heard that the bull was soon to be launched against him. He anticipated its arrival by the issuance to the German nobility of a remarkable address, which has been called "The Manifesto of the Reformation." It was practically a German declaration of independence of Rome. Luther

demanding, among other things, that payment to the Pope of annates² should be forbidden by the princes, nobles, and cities, or that they should be wholly abolished; that the Pope should have no power whatever over the Emperor, "save to anoint and crown him at the altar"; and that the secular clergy should be free to marry or not to marry.³

233. Luther burns the Papal Bull (Dec. 10, 1520). — At length a copy of the papal bull came into Luther's hands. Forty-one propositions selected from his writings were therein condemned either as "heretical" or as "scandalous," and all persons were forbidden to read his books, which were ordered to be burned; and he himself, if he did not retract his errors within sixty days, was, together with all his adherents, to be regarded as having "incurred the penalty due for heresy."

Luther now took a startling determination. He resolved to burn the papal bull. A fire was kindled outside one of the gates of Wittenberg, and in the presence of a great throng of doctors, students, and citizens, Luther cast the bull, together with the papal decretals and some books of his opponents, into the flames. The audacious proceeding raised a terrible storm, which raged "high as the heavens, wide as the earth." Luther wrote a friend that he believed the tempest could never be stilled before the day of judgment.

234. The Diet of Worms (1521). — Affairs had now assumed a threatening aspect. All Germany was in a state of revolt. The papal supremacy was imperiled. The papal ban having failed

² Annates, or first fruits, were the first year's revenue, or some portion of the first year's revenue, of a benefice paid to the Pope by a bishop, abbot, or other ecclesiastic for the papal confirmation in his office. This was a most important source of revenue to the Roman court. The temporal princes naturally regarded with great jealousy these payments by their subjects to the Pope, since in this way immense sums of money passed out of their dominions and into the Roman treasury. In England the prohibition of the payment of first fruits to the Pope was one of the earliest steps taken in the separation from Rome. See sec. 271.

³ Luther was not at this time ready to release monks from their vows. Gradually, however, his views changed and he came to regard the celibacy of the monks as opposed to Scripture teachings. In the year 1525, acting upon his maturer views, he married Catharine Bora, a former nun. This violation by Luther of his monastic vows was made the subject of bitter reproach against him by his enemies.

to produce any effect, Pope Leo now invoked the aid of the recently elected Emperor Charles V in extirpating the spreading heresy. He wished Luther to be sent to Rome for trial there. Luther's friends, however, persuaded Charles not to accede to the Pope's request, but to permit Luther to be heard in Germany. Accordingly Luther received an imperial summons to appear at Worms before an assembly of the princes, nobles, and clergy of Germany to be convened for the purpose of deliberating upon the affairs of the country, and especially upon matters touching the great religious controversy.

Called upon in the imperial assembly to recant his errors, Luther replied in substance: "I cannot, I will not, retract anything, unless what I have written shall be shown to be contrary to Holy Scripture or to plain reason, for to act against conscience is neither safe nor upright." His closing words were impressive: "I can do no otherwise; here I stand, God help me, Amen."

Although some wished to deliver the reformer to the flames, the safe-conduct of the Emperor under which he had come to the Diet protected him. So Luther was allowed to depart in safety, but was followed by the ban of the Empire.

235. Luther at the Wartburg (1521-1522).—Luther, however, had powerful friends, among whom was his own prince, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. Solicitous for the safety of the reformer, the prince caused him to be seized on his way from the Diet by a company of masked horsemen, who carried him to the castle of the Wartburg, where he was kept about a year, his retreat being known only to a few friends.

During this period of forced retirement from the world Luther was busy writing pamphlets and translating the Bible. Appeal had been made to the Scriptures,—“Prove it from the Scriptures,” was the constant challenge of the reformers to their opponents,—hence it was necessary that the Scriptures should be accessible in a language understood by all. In giving Germany this translation of the Bible, Luther rendered some such service to the German tongue, by fixing its literary forms, as Dante rendered to the Italian through his *Divine Comedy*.

236. The Peasants' War (1524-1525).— Before quite a year had passed Luther was drawn from the Wartburg by the troubles caused by certain radical reformers whose preaching was occasioning tumult and violence, and thereby bringing into discredit the whole reform movement. Luther's sudden appearance at Wittenberg gave a temporary check to the agitation.

But in the course of two or three years the trouble broke out afresh, and in a more complex and aggravated form. The peasants of Suabia and Franconia, stung to madness by the oppressions of their feudal lords, stirred by the religious excitement that filled the air, and influenced by the incendiary preaching of their prophets Carlstadt and Münzer, rose in revolt against the nobles and the priests,—against all in authority.⁴ Castles and monasteries were sacked and burned, and horrible outrages were committed. The rebellion was finally crushed, but not until a hundred thousand lives had been sacrificed, a large part of South Germany devastated, and great reproach cast upon the reformers, whose teachings were held by their enemies to be the whole cause of the ferment.

237. The Reformers are called Protestants.— But in spite of all these discrediting movements the reform made rapid progress. The friends of the ancient Church became alarmed. In the year 1529 there gathered an assembly known as the Second Diet of Spires to consider the matter. The action of the Catholic majority of this body took away from the reformed princes and cities the right they had hitherto enjoyed of determining what form of religion should be followed in their domains, and forbade the teaching of certain of the new doctrines until a Church council should have pronounced authoritatively upon them.

Six of the German princes and a large number of the cities of the Empire issued a formal protest against the action of the Diet, denying the power or right of a majority to bind the minority in matters of religion and conscience. Because of this *protest* the reformers from this time began to be known as *Protestants*.

⁴ The demands of the peasants were embodied in a document known as the Twelve Articles. See *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. ii, No. 6.

238. The Catholic Reaction ; its Causes and Agents. — Even before the death of Luther, which occurred in the year 1546,⁵ the Reformation had gained a strong foothold in most of the countries of Western Christendom, save in Spain and Italy, and even in these parts the new doctrines had made some progress. But several causes now conspired to check the hitherto triumphant advance of Protestantism and to enable the old Church to regain much of the ground that had been lost. Chief among these were the divisions among the Protestants, the Counter-Reform in the Catholic Church, the increased activity of the Inquisition, the rise of the Society of the Jesuits, and Spain's zealous championship of Catholicism.

239. Divisions among the Protestants. — Early in their contest with the Roman see the Protestants became divided into three mutually hostile sects,— Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Calvinists.

The creed of the Lutherans came to prevail very generally in North Germany, and was received in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. It also spread into the Netherlands, but there it was soon overshadowed by Calvinism. Of all the Protestant sects the Lutherans made the least departure from the Catholic Church.

The Zwinglians, followers of Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531), differed from the Lutherans particularly in their views regarding the Eucharist and in the matter of church organization. Their creed became dominant in the greater part of German Switzerland, and from there spread into Southern Germany.

The Calvinists were followers of John Calvin (1509-1564), a Frenchman by birth, who, forced to flee from France on account of persecution, found a refuge at Geneva, which city he made the center of a movement even more extended and historically important than that having its point of departure at Wittenberg. We can best remember the wide range of Calvinism and its remarkable influence upon the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth

⁵ After the death of Luther the leadership of the Reformation in Germany fell to Philip Melancthon (1497-1560), one of Luther's friends and fellow-workers. Melancthon's disposition was exactly the opposite of Luther's. He often reproved Luther for his indiscretion and vehemence, and was constantly laboring to effect, through mutual concessions, a reconciliation between the Catholics and Protestants.

centuries by keeping in mind that the French Huguenots, the Scotch Covenanters, the Dutch Netherlanders (in large part), the English Puritans, and the Pilgrim Fathers were all Calvinists.

These great Protestant communions finally broke up into a large number of denominations, or churches, each holding to some minor point of doctrine or adhering to some form of worship disregarded by the others, yet all agreeing in the central doctrine of the Reformation, "justification by faith alone."

Now the contentions between these different sects were sharp and bitter. The liberal-minded reformer had occasion to lament the same state of things as that which troubled the Apostle Paul in the early days of Christianity. One said, I am of Luther; another said, I am of Calvin; and another said, I am of Zwingli. Even Luther himself denounced Zwingli as a heretic; and the Calvinists would have no dealings with the Lutherans.

The influence of these sectarian strifes and divisions upon the progress of the reform movement was most disastrous. They afforded the Catholics a strong and effective argument against the entire movement as tending to uncertainty and discord.

240. The Catholic Counter-Reform; the Council of Trent (1545-1563); Carlo Borromeo. — As we have seen, it was the existence of acknowledged evils and scandals in the old Church that had contributed greatly to undermine its authority and to weaken its hold upon the reverence and the consciences of men. It was the correction of these evils and the removal of these scandals which did much to restore its lost influence and authority.

This reform, which even before the rise of Protestantism had already begun within the Catholic Church, was carried out in great measure by the memorable Council of Trent (1545-1563). This body, the most important Church assembly since that of Nicæa, A.D. 325, with the voice of authority passed upon all the points that had been raised by the reformers. It declared the traditions of the Church to be of equal authority with the Bible; it reasserted the divine character of the Papacy; it condemned as heresy the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone. It made everything so clear that no one, not even a wayfaring man,

need err either in doctrine or in duty. It also demanded that the lives of all priests and bishops should be an exemplification of Christian purity and morality. These measures of the council helped greatly to check the Protestant movement. The correction of the abuses that had had so much to do in causing the great schism, smoothed the way for the return to the ancient Church of thousands who had become alarmed at the dangers into which society seemed to drift when once it cast loose from anchorage in the safe harbor of tradition and authority.

The spirit in which the Council of Trent had done its work finds illustration in the exalted character and devoted life of the Italian reformer, Carlo Borromeo (1538-1588). In him the reforming spirit of the great council was incarnate. He became Archbishop of Milan, and took as his model the holy Ambrose, who, twelve centuries before, in the corrupt times of the failing Roman Empire, had won sainthood in that same see. He renovated and restored the desecrated and deserted churches, reformed the lax and dissolute lives of the clergy, restored discipline in the religious orders, and established schools and colleges. It was due largely to his zealous labors and to the happy contagion of his holy example that a new spiritual life was created in Milan and the regions round about, that popular veneration for the ancient Church was again evoked, that the progress of Protestantism in Italy was stayed, and that the wavering were held firm in their allegiance to the Papacy and many who had already been led away by the Protestant heresy were brought back to the ancient fold.

241. The Inquisition. — The Catholic Church, having purified itself and defined clearly its articles of faith, demanded of all a more implicit obedience than hitherto. The Inquisition now assumed new vigor and activity, and heresy was sternly dealt with. The tribunal was assisted in the execution of its sentences by the secular authorities in all the Romance countries, but outside of these it was not generally recognized by the temporal princes, though it did succeed in establishing itself for a time in the Netherlands and in some parts of Germany. Death, usually by burning, and loss of property were the penalty of obstinate

heresy. Without doubt the Inquisition did much to check the advance of the Reformation in Southern Europe, aiding especially in holding Italy and Spain obedient to the ancient Church.

At this point, in connection with the persecutions of the Inquisition, we should not fail to recall that in the sixteenth century a refusal to conform to the established worship was regarded by the great majority of Protestants, as well as of Catholics, as a species of treason against society, and was dealt with accordingly. Thus at Geneva we find Calvin bending all his energies to the trial and execution of Servetus, because he published views that the Calvinists thought heretical; and in England we see the Anglican Protestants waging the most cruel, bitter, and persistent persecutions not only against the Catholics but also against all Protestants who refused to conform to the Established Church.

242. The Society of the Jesuits; Ignatius of Loyola; Francis Xavier. — The Society of the Jesuits, or the Company of Jesus, was another most

powerful auxiliary concerned in the reëstablishment of the threatened authority of the papal see. The founder of the fraternity was Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), a native of Spain. Ignatius was the embodiment of Spanish religious zeal. His object was to form a society the devotion and energy of whose members should meet the ardor and activity of the reformers. The new society was instituted by a papal bull in 1540.

Ignatius before he became a priest was a soldier, and it was this circumstance which lent a military cast to his society. Like the soldier, each member of the society is required to submit his own will to that of his superior, and is taught to regard self-renunciation and obedience as cardinal virtues.



FIG. 29. — IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA
(After a painting by *Rubens*)

It was particularly as educators that the Jesuits made their influence felt upon society. Their aim here was to fill the world with schools and colleges, just as a conquered country might be occupied with military garrisons. Ignatius left behind him a full hundred colleges and seminaries; within a century and a half after his death the order had founded over seven hundred.

As the well-disciplined, watchful, and uncompromising foes of the Protestants, now divided into many and often hostile sects, the Jesuits did so much to bring about a reaction that Macaulay declares, "The history of the Jesuits is the history of the Catholic Reaction." It was largely through their direct or indirect agency that Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, and South Germany, after they had been invaded by Protestantism and in a greater or less degree drawn away from the old faith, were won back to the Catholic Church and again bound by stronger ties than ever to the Papacy. By the end of the sixteenth century this great work of recovery had been in the main accomplished. This regaining of these debatable countries for Catholicism constitutes one of the most important matters in the religious history of Europe.

And not only did the labors of the Jesuits contribute thus greatly to the retrieving of the papal fortunes in Europe, but they were also instrumental in extending the authority and spreading the doctrines of the Catholic Church into all other parts of the world. Most distinguished of all the missionaries of the society to pagan lands was the saintly Francis Xavier (1506-1552), known as the "Apostle of the Indies." His charity was measureless. He thought that he should be as ready to face danger in quest of souls as others were in quest of "aromatic groves and mines of gold." His labors in India, Japan, and other lands of the Far East were attended with astonishing results.

243. Spain's Zealous Championship of Catholicism.—Just as England became the champion and the bulwark of Protestantism, so did Spain become the champion and the bulwark of Catholicism. The Spanish sovereigns, as we shall see, constituted themselves the guardians of Catholic orthodoxy, and put forth all their strength to uproot the reformed faith not only in their own domains

but also in other lands. Their strenuous efforts to reëstablish the old religious unity caused them to become most important instruments of the Catholic Restoration.

244. The Hundred Years of Religious Wars.—The action taken by the Council of Trent made impossible a reconciliation between the two parties. The middle of the sixteenth century had not yet been reached before the increasing bitterness of their controversy led to an appeal to force. Then followed a hundred years of religious wars. During this time neither party laid aside the sword. The Schmalkaldic War in Germany between Charles V and the Protestant princes, the fierce struggle in the Netherlands between Philip II of Spain and his revolted subjects, the Huguenot wars in France, the launching of the Spanish Armada against Protestant England, the Thirty Years' War in Germany, — all these were simply different acts of the long and terrible drama.

In the chapters immediately following this we shall trace in broad outline the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the rival creeds in the leading European countries. To what we have here said concerning the beginnings of the Revolution we will in a closing paragraph add only a single word touching its general results.

245. Outcome of the Revolt. — The outcome of the Protestant Revolution was, very broadly stated, the separation from the Catholic Church of North Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, England, and Scotland, along with parts of Switzerland and of the Netherlands, — in the main, nations of Teutonic race. The great Romance nations, namely, France, Spain, and Italy, together with South Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and Ireland, adhered to the ancient Church, or, if for a period shaken in their loyalty, ultimately returned to their old allegiance.

This severance by the northern nations of the bonds that formerly united them to the ecclesiastical empire of Rome meant a transfer of their allegiance from the *Church* to the *Bible*. The decrees of popes and the decisions of Church councils were no longer to be regarded as having divine and binding force; the Scriptures alone were to be held as possessing divine and infallible

authority, and, theoretically, this rule and standard of faith and practice each individual was to interpret for himself.

Thus one half of Western Christendom was lost to the Roman Church. Yet notwithstanding this loss, notwithstanding the earlier loss of the eastern part of Christendom (sec. 33), and notwithstanding the fact that its temporal power has been entirely taken from it, the Papacy still remains, as Macaulay says, "not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigour." The Pope is to-day the supreme head of a Church that, in the words of the brilliant writer just quoted, "was great and respected before Saxon had set foot on Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Grecian eloquence still flourished in Antioch, when idols were still worshiped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's."

Selections from the Sources. — *First Principles of the Reformation* (ed. by Wace and Buchheim). Read Luther's "Address to the Nobility of the German Nation." The address makes a vivid revelation, not only of the religious situation in Germany at this time, but also of the character of the man who here makes himself the spokesman of the German nation. WHITCOMB, *Literary Source-Book of the German Renaissance. Translations and Reprints*, vol. ii, No. 6, "Period of the Early Reformation in Germany"; and vol. iii, No. 3, "Period of the Later Reformation." ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, chaps. xxiv-xxvi.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. John Reuchlin. 2. Melancthon. 3. Calvin and Servetus. 4. Carlo Borromeo. 5. Ignatius of Loyola.

CHAPTER XXI

THE ASCENDANCY OF SPAIN; HER RELATION TO THE CATHOLIC REACTION

I. REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V (1519-1556)

246. **Charles' Dominions.** — In the year 1500 there was born in the city of Ghent, in the Netherlands, a prince who was destined to play a great part in the history of the sixteenth century. This was Charles, son of Philip the Handsome, Archduke of Austria, and Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, — later to be known to fame as Emperor Charles V.

Charles was "the converging point and heir of four great royal lines, which had become united by a series of happy matrimonial alliances." These were the houses of Austria, Burgundy, Castile, and Aragon. Before Charles had completed his nineteenth year there were heaped upon his head, through the removal by death of his ancestors, the crowns of the four dynasties.

But great as was the number of the hereditary crowns of the young prince, there was straightway added to them (in 1519), by the vote of the Electors of Germany, the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. After this election he was known as *Emperor Charles V*; hitherto he had borne the title of *Carlos I* of Spain.

247. **The Balance of Power is disturbed by Spain.** — During a great part of the modern age a doctrine known as the balance of



FIG. 30. — EMPEROR
CHARLES V
(After a painting by *Holbein*)

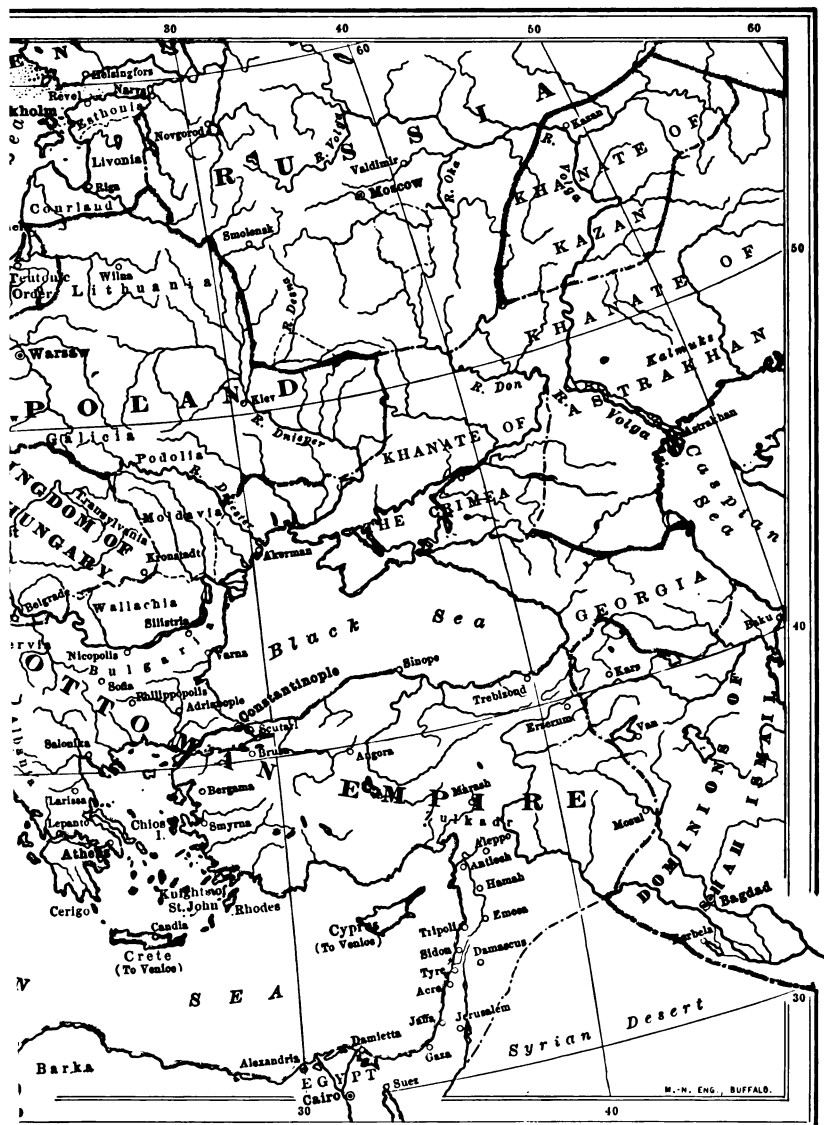
power has lain at the bottom of much European diplomacy. It has been the concern of statesmen to see to it that no one of the nations should acquire an overweight of power or influence, and thereby endanger the independence of the others. But in spite of this vigilance there has been a constant tendency to a disturbance of the equilibrium of the European system of states through the overgrowth of this or that member of it. Thus in the seventeenth century France under Louis XIV, and then again in the early years of the nineteenth century under Napoleon, acquired such an ascendancy as to imperil the liberties of the continent. The alliances formed and wars fought to prevent such disturbances of the balance of power or to restore the equilibrium already impaired, make up a great part of the political history of Europe in modern times.

Now in the sixteenth century it was the overshadowing greatness of Spain that aroused the fears of her neighbors and very largely determined the policies and actions of these states. Here we have the key to much of the political history of the reign of the Emperor Charles V and of that of his son and successor on the Spanish throne, Philip II.

248. Charles and the Reformation. — But important as is the political side of Charles' reign, it is his relation to the Lutheran movement which constitutes for us the significant feature of his life and work. Fortunately for the Catholic Church, the young Emperor placed himself at the head of the Catholic party, and not only during his own reign employed the strength and resources of his empire in extirpating the heresy of the reformers, but also transmitted this policy to his successors upon the Spanish throne.

249. His Two Chief Enemies. — Had Charles been free from the outset to devote all his energies to the work of suppressing the Lutheran heresy, it is difficult to see what could have saved the reform doctrines within his dominions from extirpation. But, fortunately for the cause of the reformers, Charles' attention, during all the first part of his reign, was drawn away from the serious consideration of Church questions by the attacks upon his dominions of two of the most powerful monarchs of the times, —





Francis I (1515-1547) of France, and Solyman the Magnificent (1520-1566), Sultan of Turkey. Time and again, when Charles was inclined to proceed to severe measures against the Protestant princes of Germany, the threatening movements of one or both of these enemies, at times acting in concert and alliance, forced him to postpone his proposed crusade against heretics for a campaign against foreign foes.

250. Rivalry and Wars between Charles and Francis (1521-1544).— Francis I was the rival of Charles in the contest for the imperial dignity. When the Electors of Germany conferred the title upon the Spanish monarch, Francis was sorely disappointed, and during all the remainder of his reign kept up a jealous and almost incessant warfare with Charles, whose enormous possessions now nearly surrounded the French kingdom.¹ Italy was the field of much of the fighting, as the securing of dominion in that peninsula was a chief aim of each of the rivals.

251. Results of the Wars between Francis and Charles.— The direct and indirect consequences of the protracted combat between Francis and Charles were many and far-reaching.

First, Protestantism was given time to intrench itself so firmly in North Germany and in other countries as to render ineffectual all later efforts for its destruction.

Second, by preventing united action on the part of the Christian princes, these quarrels were the occasion of the severe losses which Christendom during this period suffered at the hands of the Ottoman Turks. Hungary was ravaged with fire and sword, Rhodes was captured, and the Mediterranean made almost a Turkish lake.

¹ Before entering upon war with Charles, Francis cast about for an ally. The young king of England, Henry VIII, seemed the most desirable friend. He accordingly invited Henry to a conference in France, at which was to be considered the matter of an alliance against the Emperor. The two kings, each attended by a magnificent train of courtiers, met near Calais (1520). The meeting is known in history as "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," because of the prodigal richness of the costumes and appointments of the chiefs and their attendants. "Many," says a contemporary writer, "bore thither their mills, their forests, and their meadows on their backs." Nothing came of the interview, and Charles finally won Henry over to his side.

Third, these wars, having Italy as their chief theater, were a frightful scourge to that land and blighted there all the fair promises of the Renaissance; but at the same time the storm wafted the precious seeds of the revived arts and letters beyond the mountains into France and other northern lands. The French Renaissance dates from these Italian wars.

252. Persecution of the Waldenses by Francis (1545).—The cessation of the wars between Francis and Charles left each free to give his attention to his heretical subjects. And both had work enough on hand; for while the king and the Emperor had been fighting each other, the doctrines of the reformers had been spreading rapidly in all directions and among all classes.

The severest blow dealt the heretics of his kingdom by Francis fell upon the Vaudois, or Waldenses, the inhabitants of a number of hamlets in the Alpine regions of Piedmont and Provence. These people during the later mediæval time had fallen into what the Church regarded as heretical ways, and just now they were mingling with their own heresies those of the Protestant reformers. Thousands were put to death by the sword, and thousands more were burned at the stake. At a later time other persecutions fell upon them, until finally only a miserable remnant, who found an asylum among the mountains, were left to hand down their faith to modern times.

253. Charles' Wars with the Protestant German Princes.—Charles, on his part, turned his attention to the reformers in Germany. Inspired by religious motives and convictions, and apprehensive, further, of the effect upon his authority in Germany of the growth there of such an empire within an empire as the Protestant princes and free cities—now united in a union known as the Schmalkaldic League—were becoming, he resolved to crush the reform movement by force.

Accordingly, in the very year that Luther died (1546), the Emperor, aided by the German Catholics, attacked the Protestant league. He was at first successful, but in the end the war proved the most disastrous and humiliating to him of any in which he had engaged. Severe defeats of his armies finally constrained him

to give up his undertaking to make all his German subjects think alike in matters of religion.

254. The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555).— In the celebrated Diet of Augsburg, convened in 1555 to compose the distracted affairs of the German states, it was arranged and agreed that every prince should be allowed to choose between the Catholic religion and the Augsburg Confession,² and should have the right to make his religion the religion of his people.

To this article, however, the Diet made one important exception. The Catholics insisted that *ecclesiastical* princes, i.e. bishops and abbots, on becoming Protestants, should give up their offices and revenues; and this important clause, under the name of the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, was finally made a part of the treaty.

It is important that this Treaty of Augsburg should be kept carefully in mind, for the reason that it was through violations of its articles by both parties that the way was paved for the terrible Thirty Years' War (Chapter XXV).

255. His Abdication.— While the Diet of Augsburg was arranging the religious peace the Emperor Charles was enacting the part of a second Diocletian. There had long been forming in his mind the purpose of spending his last days in monastic seclusion. The disappointing issue of his contest with the Protestant princes of Germany, the weight of advancing years, together with menacing troubles which began "to thicken like dark clouds about the evening of his reign," now led the Emperor to carry this resolution into effect. Accordingly he abdicated in favor of his son Philip the crown of the Netherlands (1555), and that of Spain and its colonies (1556), and then retired to the monastery of Yuste, situated in a secluded region in Western Spain.

There is a tradition which tells how Charles, after vainly endeavoring to make some clocks that he had about him at Yuste run together, made the following reflection: "How foolish I have

² The Augsburg Confession was the formula of belief of the adherents of Luther. It was drawn up by the scholar Melancthon and laid before the Imperial Diet assembled at Augsburg by Charles V in 1530. It formed the basis of the Lutheran Church.

been to think I could make all men believe alike about religion, when here I cannot make even two clocks keep the same time."

This story is probably mythical. Charles seems never to have doubted either the practicability or the policy of securing uniformity of belief by force. While in retirement at Yuste he expressed the deepest regret that he did not burn Luther at Worms. He was constantly urging Philip to use greater severity in dealing with his heretic subjects.

II. SPAIN UNDER PHILIP II (1556-1598)

256. Philip's Character and his Principles of Government. — Philip, unlike his father, was a representative Spaniard. He embodied in himself the traits, ideals, and aspirations of the Spanish race, just as Luther typified and embodied those of the German race. His mind was the mind, his conscience was the conscience, of the Spanish people. Like the true Spaniard, Philip possessed a deeply religious nature. One of his instruments of government was the Inquisition. He employed it in the suppression of heresy, not simply because he was a sincere Catholic and believed that heresy was willful sin and should be sternly dealt with, but also because heresy, in his view, was rebellion against the state.

Philip possessed unusual administrative ability. He was an incessant worker and busied himself with the endless details of government. He did everything himself. His secretaries were mere clerks. He even regulated, or tried to regulate, the private affairs of his subjects, — told them how to dress, when they might use carriages, and how and where to educate their children. Under this system there was in the kingdom but one brain to plan and one will to direct. All local freedom and all individual enterprise were crushed out. This fatally centralized system of absolute government Philip bequeathed to his successors, and thus contributed greatly to determine the unhappy destiny of the Spanish people.

As the most important matters of Philip's reign — namely, his war against the revolted Netherlands and his attempt upon

England with his "Invincible Armada" — belong properly to the respective histories of England and the Netherlands, and will be treated of in connection with the affairs of those countries, we shall give here very little space to the history of the period.

257. Philip's Crusade against the Moriscos (1570-1571). — It will be recalled that upon the conquest of Granada in 1492 by Ferdinand and Isabella, the Moors were assured protection in all civil rights and granted religious freedom. But the Emperor Charles V broke faith with them and compelled them to embrace Christianity. They submitted to baptism, and outwardly conformed to the requirements of the Church, but secretly they held to their own faith.

Philip conceived it to be his duty to impose upon the Moriscos — thus they were called after their conversion — conditions that should thoroughly obliterate all traces of their ancient faith and manners. So he issued a decree that they should no longer wear their native garb or use their native tongue, and that they should give their children Christian names and send them to Christian schools. A determined revolt followed.

The uprising was suppressed with cruel severity, and then, because there was danger that if left in these coast regions they might open the gates of the country to the Moslems of the Mediterranean, an order was issued which condemned all the Moriscos of Granada to deportation to districts in the center and the north of the peninsula. The order was relentlessly carried out.

258. Defeat of the Turkish Fleet at Lepanto (1571). — Philip rendered at least one great service to Christian civilization at large. This he did by helping to stay the progress of the Ottoman Turks in the Mediterranean. They had captured the important island of Cyprus and had assaulted the Hospitalers at Malta. All Christendom was becoming alarmed. An alliance was formed, embracing the Pope, the Venetians, and Philip II. An immense fleet was equipped and put under the command of Don John of Austria, Philip's half-brother.

The Christian fleet met the Turkish squadron in the Gulf of Lepanto, on the western coast of Greece. The battle was unequaled by anything the Mediterranean had seen since the naval encounters

of the Romans and Carthaginians in the First Punic War. The Ottoman fleet was almost totally destroyed. Thousands of Christian captives, who were found chained to the oars of the Turkish galleys, were liberated. All Christendom rejoiced as when Jerusalem was captured by the first crusaders.

The battle of Lepanto holds an important place in history, because it marks the turning point of the long struggle between the Mohammedans and Christians, which had now been going on for nearly one thousand years. The Ottoman Turks, though they afterwards made progress in some quarters, never recovered the prestige they lost in that disaster, and their power thenceforward steadily declined.

259. The Death of Philip (1598).—In the year 1588 Philip made his memorable attempt with the so-called "Invincible Armada" upon England, at this time the stronghold of Protestantism. As we shall see a little later, he failed utterly in the undertaking. Ten years after this death ended his reign.

260. Later Events: the Expulsion of the Moriscos (1609–1610); Loss of the Netherlands.—From the death of Philip II Spain declined in power, reputation, and influence. This was due very largely to the bigotry and tyranny of her rulers. Thus under Philip III (1598–1621) a severe loss, one from which they never recovered, was inflicted upon the manufactures and other industries of the country by the expulsion of the Moriscos.

Philip II, as just related, had deported the whole Morisco population of Granada to inland provinces. Now all Spain was to be cleared absolutely of the "evil race." Philip really believed that this driving out of the misbelievers would be a service pleasing to God, even as was the driving out by the Hebrews of the Canaanites from Palestine. But he was actuated also by other motives in expelling the unhappy Moriscos. They were accused, and not without ground, so desperate had persecution rendered them, of plotting with their co-religionists for the invasion of Spain, and thus endangering the peace and unity of the land.

Accordingly during the years 1609 and 1610 all persons of Moorish descent—more than half a million of the most

intelligent, skillful, and industrious inhabitants of the peninsula — were driven into exile, chiefly to North Africa. The empty dwellings and neglected fields of once populous and gardenlike provinces told how fatal a blow Spain had inflicted upon herself. She had secured religious unity, — but at a great price.

At the very moment that Spain was being so deeply wounded in the peninsula she received an incurable hurt in her outside possessions. In the Truce of 1609 (sec. 303) she was forced virtually to recognize the independence of the Protestant Netherlands, whose revolt against the tyranny of Philip II has been mentioned. In the secession of these provinces Spain lost her most valuable dependency, and now disappears as a power of the first rank from the stage of history.

Even the very brief review which we have made of her sixteenth-century history will not fail to have revealed at least two of the main causes of her failure and quick decadence; first, a false imperial policy in Europe which involved her in endless and fruitless wars; and, second, political despotism and religious intolerance.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Field of the Cloth of Gold. 2. Siege of Vienna by the Ottoman Turks (1529). 3. The sack of Rome in 1527. 4. The Waldenses. 5. The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain.

CHAPTER XXII

THE TUDORS AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

(1485-1603)

I. INTRODUCTORY

261. The Tudor Period. — The Tudor period¹ was an eventful and stirring time for the English people. It witnessed among them great progress in art, science, and trade, and a literary outburst such as the world had not seen since the best days of Athens. But the great event of the period was the Reformation. It was under the sovereigns of this house that England was severed from papal Rome and Protestantism became firmly established in the island. To tell how these things were effected will be our chief aim in the present chapter.

262. The English Reformation first a Revolt and then a Reform. — The Reformation in England was, more distinctly than elsewhere, a double movement. First, England was separated violently from the ecclesiastical empire of Rome, but without any essential change being made in creed or form of worship. This was accomplished under Henry VIII. Second, the English Church, thus rendered independent of Rome, gradually changed its teachings and ritual. This was effected chiefly under Edward VI. So the movement was first a *revolt* and then a *reform*.

263. The Oxford Humanist Reformers. — The soil in England was, in a considerable measure, prepared for the seed of the Reformation by the labors of the humanists (sec. 204). Among them three men, Colet, Erasmus, and More, stand preëminent as promoters of the New Learning.

John Colet (1466-1519) was leader and master of the little band. His generous enthusiasm was kindled in Italy. It was an

¹ The Tudor sovereigns were Henry VII (1485-1509), Henry VIII (1509-1547), Edward VI (1547-1553), Mary (1553-1558), and Elizabeth (1558-1603).

important event in the history of the Reformation when Colet crossed the Alps to learn Greek at the feet of the Greek exiles; for on his return to England he brought back with him not only an increased love for the classical learning but a fervent zeal for religious reform, inspired, perhaps, by the stirring eloquence of Savonarola.

Desiderius Erasmus (1467?-1536) of Rotterdam went to England to learn Greek. There he came into close friendship with Colet, More, and other lovers of learning, with whom he declared he could have been happy in Scythia. He was the leader of the humanistic movement in the North, as Petrarch was the father of the movement in the South. His celebrated satire entitled *Moriæ Encomium*, or "Praise of Folly" (1509), was directed against the foibles of all classes of society, but particularly against the sins



FIG. 31.—ERASMUS. (After a painting by Holbein)

of "unholy men in holy orders." A little later (in 1516) Erasmus published his *Novum Instrumentum*, the Greek text of the New Testament with a Latin version. These publications must be given a prominent place among the agencies which prepared the minds and hearts of the northern peoples for the Reformation.

Thomas More (1478-1535) was declared by Colet to be the sole genius in all England. He was a man with whom men were said to "fall in love." As the author of *Utopia* he is, perhaps,

after Erasmus, the best known of all the humanists of the North. He was drawn, or rather forced, into political life, and of him and his writings we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, in connection with the reign of Henry VIII (sec. 276).

Than this early Oxford movement, nothing better illustrates the relation of the humanistic revival in the North to the religious reform. Here the humanist was the reformer. But the Oxford reformers, it should be carefully noted, were not Protestant reformers. They believed in the divine character of the papal supremacy. They wished indeed to reform the Papacy, but not to destroy it. They did not wish to see the mediæval unity of Christendom broken. They had no quarrel with the creed of the Catholic Church. Erasmus denounced the doctrines of Luther, and More died a martyr's death rather than deny the papal supremacy.

II. THE REIGN OF HENRY VII (1485-1509)

264. Benevolences. — The besetting sins of Henry VII, the first of the Tudors, were avarice and a love of despotic rule. One device adopted by the king for wringing money from his wealthy subjects was what were euphemistically termed "Benevolences." Magna Carta forbade the king to impose taxes without the consent of the Common Council. But Henry did not like to convene Parliament, as he wished to rule like the kings of the Continent, guided simply by his own free will. So benevolences were made to take the place of regular taxes. These were nothing more nor less than gifts extorted from the well-to-do by moral pressure.

One of Henry's ministers, Cardinal Morton, was particularly successful in his appeals for gifts of this kind. To those who lived splendidly he would say that it was very evident they were quite able to make a generous donation to their sovereign; while to others who lived in a narrow and pinched way he would represent that their economical mode of life must have made them wealthy. This teasing dilemma received the name of "Morton's fork."

265. Maritime Discoveries. — It was during this reign that great geographical discoveries enlarged the boundaries of the

world. Soon after Columbus had announced to Europe the existence of land to the west, Henry commissioned John Cabot, a Venetian navigator doing business in England, and his sons to make explorations in the western seas. In his westward voyage Cabot ran against the American continent somewhere in the vicinity of Newfoundland, and took possession of the country in the name of the English sovereign (1497). Upon this discovery and other alleged explorations of John Cabot and his son Sebastian the English based their claim to the whole of the American coast from Labrador down to Florida. This claim included the best part of North America, — what was destined to be the third and most spacious home of the Anglo-Saxon race.

III. ENGLAND SEVERED FROM THE PAPACY BY HENRY VIII (1509-1547)

266. Cardinal Wolsey. — Henry VII died in 1509, leaving the throne to his son Henry, an energetic and headstrong youth of eighteen years. We must here at the opening of the young king's reign² introduce his greatest minister, Thomas Wolsey (1475?-1530). This man was one of the most remarkable characters of his generation, — "probably the greatest political genius," says Bishop Creighton, "whom England has ever produced." He was, as Holinshed characterizes him, "very eloquent and full of wit; but passingly ambitious." Henry made him Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of the realm; the Pope made him a cardinal, and afterwards papal legate in England. He was now virtually at the head of affairs in both State and Church.

267. Henry as "Defender of the Faith." — It was in the eighth year of Henry VIII's reign that Martin Luther tacked upon the

² In 1512, joining what was known as the Holy League, — a union against the French king, of which the Pope was the head, — Henry made his first campaign in France. While Henry was across the Channel, James IV of Scotland thought to give aid to the French king by invading England. The Scottish army was met by the English force at Flodden, beneath the Cheviot Hills, and completely overwhelmed (1513). King James was killed, and the flower of the Scottish nobility was left dead upon the field. It was the most terrible disaster that had ever befallen the Scottish nation. Scott's poem *Marmion, a Tale of Flodden Field*, commemorates the battle.

door of the Wittenberg church his famous ninety-five theses. England was stirred with the rest of Western Christendom. When, a little later, Luther attacked directly the papal power, Henry wrote a Latin treatise refuting the arguments of the audacious monk. The Pope, Leo X, rewarded Henry's Catholic zeal by conferring upon him the title of "Defender of the Faith" (1521). This title was retained by Henry after the separation of



FIG. 32. — HENRY VIII. (After a painting by *Holbein*)

England from the papal see, and is borne by his latest successor to-day, although he is "defender" of quite a different faith from that in the defense of which Henry first earned the title.

268. Henry seeks a Divorce from Catherine.—We have now to relate some circumstances which very soon changed Henry from a zealous supporter of the Papacy into a bitter enemy. Henry's marriage—he married Catherine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur—had been prompted by policy and not by love.

Of the five children born of the union, all had died save a sickly daughter named Mary. In these successive afflictions Henry saw or feigned to see a sign of Heaven's displeasure because he had taken to wife the widow of his brother.

And now a new circumstance arose, if it had not existed for some time previous to this. Henry fell in love with Anne Boleyn, a beautiful and vivacious maid of honor in the queen's household. This new affection so quickened the king's conscience that he soon became fully convinced that it was his duty to put Catherine aside. Accordingly Henry asked the Pope, Clement VII, to grant him a divorce. Clement gave no immediate decision, but after about two years' delay ordered Henry and Catherine both to appear before him at Rome.

269. The Fall of Wolsey ; his Death (1530).— Henry's patience was now completely exhausted. Becoming persuaded that Wolsey was not exerting himself as he might to secure the divorce, he banished him from court. The hatred of Anne Boleyn and of others pursued the fallen minister. Finally he was arrested on the preposterous charge of high treason. While on his way to London the unhappy minister, broken in spirit and in health, was prostrated by a fatal fever. As he lay dying in the arms of the kind monks of Leicester Abbey, he uttered these self-censuring words: "Had I served my God as diligently as I have served my king, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs."

Wolsey had indeed sunk his priestly office in that of the statesman, and as a statesman he had often stifled the scruples of conscience in obedience to the king's unholy wishes and commands.

270. Thomas Cromwell.— After the disgrace of Wolsey an attendant of his named Thomas Cromwell rapidly assumed in Henry's regard the place from which the cardinal had fallen. For the space of ten years this strong but unscrupulous man shaped the policy of Henry's government. The period during which his power was supreme has been called the English Reign of Terror. The executioner's ax was often wet with the blood of those who stood in his way, or who in any manner incurred his or the king's displeasure.

It was to the bold suggestions of this man that Henry now listened. Cromwell's advice to the king was to waste no more time in negotiating with the Pope, but at once to renounce his jurisdiction, proclaim himself supreme head of the Church in England, and then get a decree of divorce from his own courts.

271. First Acts in the Breach with Rome (1533-1534).—The advice of Cromwell was acted upon, and by a series of steps England was swiftly carried out from under the authority of the Roman see. Henry first virtually cut the Gordian knot by a secret marriage with Anne Boleyn, notwithstanding a papal decree threatening him with excommunication should he dare to do so. Thomas Cranmer, a friend whom Henry had made Archbishop of Canterbury, now formed a court, tried the case, and of course declared the king's marriage with Catherine null and void.

The following year (1534) Henry procured from Parliament the passage of the important Act of Annates, which forbade absolutely the payment to Rome of the first fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics, and ordered that these should henceforth be paid to the English crown.

272. The Act of Supremacy (1534).—At Rome the acts of Henry and his Parliament were denounced as acts of impious usurpation. The Pope issued a bull excommunicating Henry and relieving his subjects from their allegiance.

Henry now took the final and decisive step. He got from Parliament the celebrated Act of Supremacy (1534). This statute made Henry "the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England," vesting in him absolute control of its offices and affairs and turning into his hands the revenue which had hitherto flowed into Rome's treasury. A denial of the title given the king by the statute was made high treason.

Such a break with the past met of course with much disapproval, and many persons were put to death under the statute. The most illustrious victims of this tyranny were John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, who for several years was one of Henry's chief councilors. The execution of Thomas More particularly created widespread condemnation and dismay. Erasmus

wrote to a friend, "What a man has England and what a friend have I lost!"

273. The Suppression of the Monasteries (1536-1539). — The suppression of the monasteries was one of Henry's early acts as the supreme head of the Church in England. He resolved upon their destruction because, in the first place, he coveted their wealth, which at this time included probably one fifth of the lands of the realm. Further, the monks were openly or secretly opposed to Henry's claims of supremacy in religious matters; and this naturally caused him to regard them with jealousy and disfavor.

In order to make the act of suppression appear as reasonable as possible, it was planned to make the charge of immorality its ostensible ground. Accordingly two royal commissioners were appointed to inspect the monasteries and make a report upon what they might see and learn. If we may believe the report, some of the smaller houses were conducted in a most shameful manner. The larger houses, however, were fairly free from faults. Many of them served as schools, hospitals, and inns, and all distributed alms to the poor who knocked at their gates.

But the undoubted usefulness and irreproachable character of these larger foundations did not avail to avert ruin from them also. During the years from 1537 to 1539 all were dissolved, their possessors generally surrendering the property voluntarily into the hands of the king lest a worse thing than the loss of their houses should come upon them. Altogether there were six hundred and forty-five monasteries broken up. The monastic buildings were generally dismantled, every scrap of iron or lead being torn from them, and their unprotected walls left to sink into picturesque ivy-clad ruins.

A portion of the vast wealth which came into Henry's hands through all these confiscations was used in founding schools and colleges and for other public purposes; but by far the greater portion of the landed property was sold at merely nominal prices or given outright to the favorites of the king. Many of the leading English families of to-day trace the titles of their estates from

these confiscated lands of the religious houses. Thus a new aristocracy was raised up whose interests led them to oppose any return to Rome; for in such an event their estates were liable, of course, to be restored to the monasteries.

274. Act to secure Uniformity of Belief (1539). — In the same year that Parliament gave into Henry's hands the last of the property of the monastic orders, it passed a bill called an Act for abolishing Diversity of Opinions. By this statute the teachings of the old Church respecting the real presence in the Eucharist, the celibacy of the priesthood, confession to a priest, and other tenets were approved as agreeable to the laws of God, and it was made a crime for any person to hold, to teach, or to practice opinions opposed to any of these dogmas.

What the Church in England should be called under Henry it would be hard to say. It was not Protestant; and it was just as far from being truly Catholic. That it was distinctively neither the one nor the other is shown by the character of the persecutions that took place. Catholics and Protestants alike were harassed and put to death. Thus on one occasion three Catholics who denied that the king was the rightful head of the Church and three Protestants who disputed the doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist were dragged on the same sled to the place of execution.

275. Henry's Death and Character; his Work. — Henry died in 1547. Very diverse views of his character have been held. He was admittedly meddlesome, cruel, arbitrary, and selfish. Even if the English people are indebted to him for their national independent Church, still they owe him for this no gratitude; for what he did here proceeded primarily from the most ignoble impulses and motives.

In another sphere, however, Henry accomplished a work which entitles him to the grateful remembrance of a people who pride themselves on their mastery of the sea. He had the vision to discern that England's dominion must be sought not on the European Continent but on the ocean. Hence he took a deep interest in naval affairs. At a time when the Continental sovereigns were

creating standing armies, he, as it has been put, created for England a "standing navy." He brought to perfection the sailing warship and gave it precedence over the oared vessel, which up to this time had held the chief place in the world's war navies. Thus under Henry the English navy, in the words of an eminent naval authority, "was becoming an entirely new thing, a thing the world had never seen before." The change was somewhat like that effected when the steamship replaced the sailing vessel.

276. Literature under Henry VIII ; More's *Utopia*. — The most prominent literary figure of this period is Sir Thomas More. The work upon which his fame as a writer mainly rests is his *Utopia*, or "Nowhere," a romance like Plato's *Republic* or Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. It pictures an imaginary kingdom away on an island in the New World, then just discovered, where the laws, manners, and customs of the people were represented as being ideally perfect. It was the wretchedness of the lower classes, the religious intolerance, the despotic government of the times which inspired the *Utopia*. "No such cry of pity for the poor," says Green, "had been heard since the days of Piers Plowman." But More's was not simply such a cry of despair as was that of Langland. He saw a better future ; and with a view of reforming them, pointed out the existing evils in society. He did this by telling how things were in "Nowhere," — how the houses and grounds were all inviting, the streets broad and clean ; how everybody was taught to read and write, and no one obliged to work more than six hours a day ; how drinking houses, brawls, and wars were unknown ; how in this happy republic every person had a part in the government, and was allowed to follow what religion he chose.

In this wise way More suggested improvements in social, political, and religious matters. He did not expect, however, that Henry would follow all his suggestions, for he closes his account of the Utopians with this admission : "I confess that many things in the commonwealth of Utopia I rather *wish* than *hope* to see adopted in our own."

IV. CHANGES IN DOCTRINE AND RITUAL UNDER EDWARD VI (1547-1553)

277. Changes in the Religion. — In accordance with the provisions of a Succession Act passed in Henry's reign, his only son, Edward, succeeded him. The young king was carefully taught the doctrines of the reformers, and many changes were made in the creed and service of the English Church, which carried it farther away from the Church of Rome. It is these changes in the religion that constitute the matters most worthy of our attention.

Under the new régime all pictures and crosses were cleared from the churches; the use of tapers, holy water, and incense was discontinued; the veneration of the Virgin and the keeping of saints' days were prohibited; belief in purgatory was denounced, and prayers for the dead were interdicted; the real or bodily presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the sacrament was denied; the prohibition against the marriage of the clergy was annulled; and the services of the Church, which hitherto — save as to some portion of them during the last three years of Henry's reign — had been conducted in Latin, were ordered to be said in the language of the people.

In order that the provision last mentioned might be effectually carried out, the *English Book of Common Prayer* was prepared by Archbishop Cranmer. This book, which was in the main simply a translation of the old Latin *Missal* and *Breviary*, with the subsequent change of a word here and a passage there to keep it in accord with the growing new doctrines, is the same that is used in the Anglican Church at the present time.

In 1552 were published the famous Forty-two Articles of Religion, which formed a compendious creed of the reformed faith. These articles, reduced finally to thirty-nine, form the present standard of faith and doctrine in the Church of England.

278. Persecutions to secure Uniformity. — These sweeping changes and innovations in the old creed and in the services of the Church would have worked little hardship or wrong had only everybody, as in More's happy republic, been left free to favor

and follow what religion he would. But unfortunately it was only away in "Nowhere" that men were allowed perfect freedom of conscience and worship. 'The idea of toleration had not yet dawned upon the world, save in the happier moments of some such generous and wide-horized soul as his that conceived the *Utopia*.

By royal edict all preachers and teachers were forced to sign the Forty-two Articles; and severe laws, known as Acts for the Uniformity of Service, punished with severe penalties any departure from the forms of the new prayer book. Many persons during the reign were imprisoned for refusing to conform to the new worship; while two at least were given to the flames as "heretics and contemners of the Book of Common Prayer." Even the Princess Mary, who remained a conscientious adherent of the old faith, was harassed and persecuted because she would have the Catholic service in her own private chapel.

V. REACTION UNDER MARY (1553-1558)

279. Accession of Mary; Reconciliation with Rome (1554).—Upon the death of Edward his sister Mary came to the throne. Soon after her accession she was married to Philip II of Spain. This marriage had been planned by Philip's father, the Emperor Charles V, in the hope that thereby England might become actually or in effect a part of the Spanish empire.

The majority of the English prelates had never in their hearts approved the recent ecclesiastical changes. Their zeal for the ancient Church, allied with Mary's, now quickly brought about the full reëstablishment of the Catholic worship throughout the realm. Parliament voted that the nation should return to its obedience to the papal see; and then the members of both Houses fell upon their knees to receive at the hands of the papal legate absolution from the sin of heresy and schism. The sincerity of their repentance was attested by their repeal of all the acts by which the new worship had been set up in the land. The joy at Rome was unbounded. The prodigal had returned to his father's house.

But not quite everything done by the reformers was undone. Parliament refused to restore the confiscated Church lands, which was very natural, as much of this property was now in the hands of the lords and commoners. Mary, however, in her zeal for the ancient faith, restored a great part of the property still in the possession of the crown, and refounded many of the ruined monasteries and abbeys.

280. The Martyrs: Latimer and Ridley (1555), and Cranmer (1556). — With the reestablishment of the Catholic worship, the Protestants in their turn were subjected to persecution. Altogether, between two and three hundred persons suffered death during this reign on account of their religion. The three most eminent martyrs were Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer. Latimer and Ridley were burned at the same stake. As the torch was applied to the fagots, the aged Latimer — he was seventy years old — encouraged his companion with these memorable words: “Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day, by God’s grace, light such a candle in England as I trust shall never be put out.”

Mary should not be judged harshly for the part she took in the persecutions that disfigured her reign. It was not her fault, but the fault of the age, that these things were done. Punishment of heresy was then regarded, by almost all Catholics and Protestants alike, as a duty which could be neglected by those in authority only at the peril of Heaven’s displeasure.

VI. FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF PROTESTANTISM UNDER ELIZABETH (1558–1603)

281. The Queen. — Elizabeth, who was twenty-five years of age when the death of Mary called her to the throne, was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. She seems to have inherited the characteristics of both parents; hence perhaps the inconsistencies of her disposition. She possessed a masculine intellect, a strong will, admirable judgment, and great political tact. It was these qualities which rendered her reign the strongest and most

illustrious in the record of England's sovereigns, and raised the nation from a position of comparative insignificance to a foremost place among the states of Europe.

Elizabeth never married, notwithstanding Parliament was constantly urging her to do so, and suitors, among whom was Philip II of Spain, were as numerous as those who sought the hand of Penelope. She declared — very late in her reign, however — that on her coronation day she was married to the English realm, and that she would have no other husband. She remained to the end the “fair Vestal throned by the West.”

282. Her Ministers. — One secret of the strength and popularity of Elizabeth's government was the admirable judgment she exercised in her choice of advisers. The



FIG. 33. — QUEEN ELIZABETH. (The Ermine Portrait, from the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury, Hatfield House)

courtiers with whom she crowded her receptions might be frivolous persons; but about her council board she gathered the wisest men of the realm. And yet Elizabeth's government was really her own. We now know that her advisers did not have as much to do with shaping the policies of the reign as was formerly believed.

The most eminent of the queen's ministers was Sir William Cecil (Lord Burghley), a man of great sagacity and ceaseless industry. He stood at the head of the queen's council for forty years. His son Robert, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir Francis Walsingham were also prominent among the queen's advisers.

283. Reestablishment of the Reformed Church. — As Mary undid the work in religion of Henry and Edward, so now her work was undone by Elizabeth. Elizabeth favored the reformed faith rather from policy than from conviction. It was to the Protestants alone that she could look for support; her title to the crown was denied by every true Catholic in the realm, for she was the child of that marriage which the Pope had forbidden under pain of the penalties of the Church.

The religious houses which had been refounded by Mary were again dissolved, and Parliament by the two important Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity (1559) reestablished the independence of the Church of England. The Act of Supremacy required all the clergy, and every person holding office under the crown, to take an oath declaring the queen to be the supreme governor of the realm in all spiritual as well as in all temporal things. For refusing to deny the supremacy of the Pope many Catholics during Elizabeth's reign suffered death, and many more endured within the Tower the worse horrors of the rack.

The Act of Uniformity forbade any clergyman to use any but the Anglican liturgy, and required every person to attend the Established Church on Sunday and other holy days. The persecutions which arose under this law caused many Catholics to seek freedom of worship in other countries.

284. The Protestant Nonconformists; Puritans and Separatists. — The Catholics were not the only persons among Elizabeth's subjects who were opposed to the Anglican worship. There were Protestant nonconformists — the Puritans and Separatists — who troubled her almost as much as the Catholics.

The Puritans were so named because they desired a *purer* form of worship than the Anglican. The term was applied to them in derision; but the sterling character of those thus designated at

length turned the epithet of reproach into a badge of honorable distinction. They did not withdraw from the Established Church, but remaining within its pale labored to reform it and to shape its discipline to their notions. These Puritans were destined to play a prominent part in the later affairs of England.

The Separatists were still more zealous reformers than the Puritans. In their hatred of everything that bore any resemblance to the Catholic worship, they flung away the surplice and the prayer book, severed all connection with the Established Church, and refused to have anything to do with it. Under the Act of Uniformity they were persecuted with great severity, so that multitudes were led to seek an asylum upon the Continent. It was from among these exiles gathered in Holland that a little later came the passengers of the *Mayflower* and *Speedwell*, — the Pilgrim Fathers, who laid the foundations of civil liberty in the New World.

285. Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. — A large part of the history of Elizabeth's reign is intertwined with the story of her cousin, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, the "modern Helen," "the most beautiful, the weakest, the most attractive, and most attracted of women." She was the daughter of James V of Scotland, and to her *in right of birth* — according to all Catholics, who denied the validity of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn — belonged the English crown next after Mary Tudor.

Upon the death, in 1560, of her husband, Francis II of France, Mary gave up life at the French court and returned to her native land. She was now in her nineteenth year. The subtle charm of her beauty seems to have bewitched all who came into her presence, save the more zealous of the reformers, who could never forget that their young sovereign was a Catholic. The stern old John Knox made her life miserable. He called her a "Moabite," and other opprobrious names, till she wept from sheer vexation.

Other things now conspired with Mary's hated religion to alienate entirely the love of her people. Her second husband, Lord Darnley, was murdered. The queen was suspected of having some guilty knowledge of the affair. She was imprisoned and forced to abdicate in favor of her infant son James.

Escaping from prison, Mary fled into England (1568). Here she threw herself upon the generosity of her cousin Elizabeth, and entreated aid in recovering her throne. But the part which she was generally believed to have had in the murder of her husband, her disturbing claims to the English throne, and the fact that she was a Catholic all conspired to determine her fate. She was placed in confinement, and for nineteen years remained a prisoner. During all this time Mary was the center of innumerable plots on the part of the Catholics, which aimed at setting her upon the English throne. The Pope, Pius V, aided these conspirators by a bull excommunicating Elizabeth and releasing her subjects from their allegiance (1570). Finally a carefully laid conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth and place Mary on the throne was unearthed. The Spanish king, Philip II, was implicated. He wrote, "The affair is so much in God's service that it certainly deserves to be supported, and we must hope that our Lord will prosper it, unless our sins be an impediment thereto."

Mary was tried for complicity in the plot, was declared guilty, and, after some hesitation, feigned or otherwise, on the part of Elizabeth, was ordered to the block (1587). Even after Elizabeth had signed the warrant for her execution she attempted to evade responsibility in the matter by causing a suggestion to be made to Mary's jailers that they should kill her secretly.

286. The "**Invincible Armada**"; "**Britain's Salamis**" (1588).—The execution of Mary Stuart led immediately to the memorable attempt against England by the Spanish Armada. Before her death the Queen of Scots had by will disinherited her son and bequeathed to Philip II of Spain her claims to the English crown. To enforce these rights, to avenge the death of Mary, to punish Elizabeth for aiding his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands, and to deal a fatal blow to the Reformation in Europe by crushing the Protestants of England, Philip resolved upon making a tremendous effort for the conquest of the heretical island. Vast preparations were made for carrying out the project. Great fleets were gathered in the harbors of Spain, and a large army was assembled in the Netherlands to coöperate with the naval armament.

Pope Sixtus V encouraged Philip in the enterprise, which was thus rendered a sort of crusade. At last the fleet, consisting of about one hundred and thirty ships, the largest naval armament that had ever appeared upon the Atlantic, and boastfully called the "Invincible Armada," set sail from Lisbon for the Channel. The approaching danger produced a perfect fever of excitement in England. Never did Roman citizens rise more splendidly to



FIG. 34. — SPANISH AND ENGLISH WAR VESSELS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. (From an engraving)

avert some terrible peril threatening the republic than the English people now arose as a single man to defend their island realm against the revengeful project of Spain. The imminent danger served to unite all classes, the gentry and the yeomanry, Protestants and Catholics. The latter might intrigue to set a Mary Stuart on the English throne, but they were not ready to betray their land into the hands of the hated Spaniards.

On July 19, 1588, the Armada was first descried by the watchmen on the English cliffs. It swept up the Channel in the form of a great crescent, seven miles in width from tip to tip of horn. The English ships, about eighty in number, whose light structure

and swift movements, together with the superior gunnery of their sailors, gave them a great advantage over the clumsy Spanish galleons, almost immediately began to impede their advance, and for seven days incessantly harassed the Armada. One night, as the damaged fleet lay off the harbor of Calais, the English sent fire ships among the vessels, whereby a number were destroyed and a panic created among the others. A determined attack the next day by Howard, Drake, and Lord Henry Seymour inflicted a still severer loss upon the fleet.

The Spaniards, thinking now of nothing save escape, spread their sails in flight, proposing to get away by sailing northward around the British Isles. But the storms of the northern seas dashed many of the remaining ships to pieces on the Scottish and the Irish shores. Barely one third of the ships of the Armada ever reëntered the harbors whence they sailed. When intelligence of the woeful disaster was carried to the imperturbable Philip, he simply said, "God's will be done; I sent my fleet to fight against the English, not against the elements."

Well may the great fight in the Channel which shattered the Armada be called "Britain's Salamis"; for like Athens' Salamis it revealed the weakness and proclaimed the downfall of a vast despotic empire, while at the same time it disclosed the strength and announced the rise of a new free state destined to a great future. But the destruction of the Armada concerned other than purely English and Spanish interests. It marked the turning point in the great duel between Catholicism and Protestantism. It not only decided that England was to remain Protestant, but it foreshadowed the independence of the Protestant Netherlands, and assured, or at least greatly helped to assure, the future of Protestantism in Scandinavia and in North Germany.

287. Maritime and Colonial Enterprises. — The crippling of the naval power of Spain left England mistress of the seas. The little island realm now entered upon the most splendid period of her history. These truly were "the spacious times of great Elizabeth." The English people, stirred by recent events, seemed to burn with a feverish impatience for maritime adventure and glory. Many

a story of the daring exploits of English sea rovers during the reign of Elizabeth seems like a repetition of some tale of the old Vikings.

Especially deserving of mention among the enterprises of these stirring and romantic times are the undertakings and adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh (1552?-1618). Several expeditions were sent out by him for the purpose of making explorations and forming settlements in the New World. One of these, which explored the central coasts of North America, returned with such glowing accounts of the beauty and richness of the land visited, that, in honor of the virgin queen, it was named *Virginia*.

Raleigh attempted to establish colonies in the new land (1585-1590), but the settlements were unsuccessful. The settlers, however, when they returned home, carried back with them the tobacco plant, and introduced into England the habit of smoking it. It was at this time also that the potato, a native product of the New World, was brought to Ireland. These together with maize, or Indian corn, were the chief return the New World made to the Old for the great number of domesticated plants and grains which it received from thence.

288. The Queen's Death.—The closing days of Elizabeth's reign were to her personally dark and gloomy. She seemed to be burdened with a secret grief⁸ as well as by the growing infirmities of age. She died March 24, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign. With her ended the Tudor line of English sovereigns.

Literature of the Elizabethan Era

289. Influences Favorable to Literature.—The years covered by the reign of Elizabeth constitute one of the most momentous periods in history. It was the age when Europe was most deeply stirred by the Reformation. It was, too, a period of marvelous physical and intellectual expansion and growth. The discoveries of Columbus and others had created a New World. The Renaissance had re-created the Old World,—had revealed an unsuspected

⁸ In 1601 she sent to the block her chief favorite, the Earl of Essex, who had been found guilty of treason.

treasure in the civilizations of the past. Thus everything conspired to quicken men's intellect and stimulate their imagination.

An age of such activity and achievement almost of necessity gives birth to a strong and vigorous literature. And thus is explained, in part at least, how during this period the English people — for no people of Europe felt more deeply the stir and movement of the times, nor helped more to create this same stir and movement, than the English nation — should have developed a literature of such originality and richness and strength as to make it the prized inheritance of all the world.

To make special mention of all the great writers who adorned the Elizabethan era would carry us quite beyond the limits of our book. Having said something of the influence under which they wrote, we will simply add that this age was the age of Shakespeare and Spenser and Bacon.⁴

Selections from the Sources. — MORE's *Utopia* is the choicest literary product of the early revival of learning in England. The student should not fail to read it carefully. It lights up at once the social, the political, and the religious world of the time (cf. sec. 276). For a great variety of illustrative material, turn to ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, pp. 213-326; HENDERSON, *Side Lights on English History*, pp. 1-32; and KENDALL, *Source-Book*, chaps. viii-x. In PAYNE, *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen* (First Series, Oxford, 1893), read "The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake," pp. 196-229. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, pp. 135-152 and 186-193.

Secondary Works. — SEEBOHM, F., *The Oxford Reformers*. A volume of rare freshness and charm on the fellow-work and influence of the Oxford reformers, — Colet, Erasmus, and More. *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. i, chap. xiv. GREEN, J. R., *Short History of the English People*, chaps. vi and vii. FROUDE, J. A., *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century* and *The Spanish Story of the Armada*. GASQUET, F. A., *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, 2 vols., and *The Eve of the Reformation*. These are the works of an eminent Catholic scholar. CREIGHTON, M., *Queen Elizabeth* and *Cardinal Wolsey*. BEESLY, E. S., *Queen Elizabeth*. For concise narrations of the events dealt with in this chapter, see GARDINER'S, MONTGOMERY'S, TERRY'S, COMAN and KENDALL'S, ANDREWS', and CHEYNEY'S text-books on English history. And for biographical information, turn to the excellent articles in the *English Dictionary of National Biography*.

Topic for Class Report. — Sir Thomas More and his romance *Utopia*.

⁴ William Shakespeare (1564-1616); Edmund Spenser (1552?-1599); Francis Bacon (1561-1626). Shakespeare and Bacon, it will be noticed, outlived Elizabeth.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS: RISE OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

(1572-1609)

290. The Country. — The name Netherlands (lowlands) was formerly applied to all that district in the northwest of Europe, much of it sunk below the level of the sea, now occupied by the kingdoms of the Netherlands and Belgium. A large part of this region is simply the delta accumulations of the Rhine and other rivers emptying into the North Sea. Originally it was often overflowed by its streams and inundated by the ocean.

But this unpromising morass, protected at last by heavy dikes seaward against the invasions of the ocean, and by great embankments inland against the overflow of its streams, was destined to become the site of the most potent cities of Europe, and the seat of one of the foremost commonwealths of modern times. No country in Europe made greater progress in civilization during the mediæval era than the Netherlands. At the opening of the sixteenth century they contained a crowded and busy population of three million souls. The ancient marshes had been transformed into carefully kept gardens and orchards. The walled cities numbered between two and three hundred. Antwerp rivaled even the greatest of the Italian cities. "I was sad when I saw Antwerp," writes a Venetian ambassador, "for I saw Venice surpassed."

291. The Low Countries under Charles V (1515-1555). — The Netherlands were part of those possessions over which the Emperor Charles V ruled by hereditary right. Towards the close of his reign he set up here the Inquisition with the object of suppressing the heresy of the reformers. Many persons perished at the stake and upon the scaffold, or were strangled, or buried

alive.¹ But when Charles retired to the monastery at Yuste the reformed doctrines were, notwithstanding all his efforts, far more widely spread and deeply rooted in the Netherlands than when he entered upon their extirpation by fire and sword.

292. Accession of Philip II. — In 1555, in the presence of an august and princely assembly at Brussels, Charles V abdicated the crown whose weight he could no longer bear, and placed it upon the head of his son Philip. What sort of man this son was we have already learned (sec. 256).

Philip remained in the Netherlands four years, employing much of his time in devising means to root out the heresy of Protestantism. In 1559 he set sail for Spain, never to return. His arrival in the peninsula was celebrated by an *auto de fe* at Valladolid, festivities which ended in the burning of thirteen persons whom the Inquisition had condemned as heretics. It was not delight at the sight of suffering that led Philip on his home-coming to be a spectator at these awful solemnities. He doubtless wished through his presence to give sanction to the work of the Holy Office, and to impress all with the fact that unity of religion in Spain, as the necessary basis of peace and unity in the state, would be maintained by him at any and every cost.

293. "Long live the Beggars!" — Upon his departure from the Netherlands, Philip intrusted the government to his half-sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma, as regent. Under the administration of Margaret (1559–1567) the persecution of the Protestants went on with renewed bitterness. At last the nobles leagued together and resolved to petition the regent for a redress of grievances. When the duchess learned that the petitioners were about to wait upon her, she displayed great agitation. Thereupon one of her councilors exclaimed, "What, madam! afraid of these beggars?"

The expression was carried to the nobles, who were assembled at a banquet. Straightway one of their number suspended a beggar's

¹ Charles' persecutions covered the years from 1521 to 1555. The number of martyrs during these years has been greatly exaggerated; it was put as high as one hundred thousand by the celebrated Dutch jurist, Grotius (d. 1645). Blok believes the number actually suffering the death penalty was less than one thousand. See his *History of the People of the Netherlands*, vol. ii, p. 317

wallet from his neck and, filling a wooden bowl with wine, proposed the toast, "Long live the beggars!" The name was tumultuously adopted and became the party designation of the patriot Netherlanders during their long struggle with the Spanish power.

294. The Iconoclasts (1566).—The only reply of the government to the petition of the nobles for a mitigation of the severity of the edicts concerning heresy was a decree termed the Moderation, which substituted hanging for burning in the case of condemned heretics.

The pent-up indignation of the people at length burst forth in uncontrollable fury. They gathered in great mobs and proceeded to demolish every image they could find in the churches throughout the country. The monasteries, too, were sacked, their libraries burned, and the inmates driven from their cloisters. The tempest destroyed innumerable art treasures, which have been as sincerely mourned by the lovers of the beautiful as the burned rolls of the Alexandrian library have been lamented by the lovers of learning.

295. The Duke of Alva and the "Council of Blood" (1567).—The year following this outbreak Philip sent to the Netherlands a veteran Spanish army, "one of the most perfect engines of war ever seen in any age," headed by the Duke of Alva, a man after Philip's own heart, deceitful, fanatical, and merciless.

Alva was one of the ablest generals of the age, and the intelligence of his coming threw the provinces into a state of the greatest agitation and alarm. Those who could do so hastened to get out of the country. William the Silent, Prince of Orange, one of the leading noblemen of the Lowlands, fled to Germany, where he began to gather an army of volunteers for the struggle which he now saw to be inevitable.

Egmont and Hoorn, Catholic noblemen² of high rank and great distinction, were treacherously seized, cast into prison, and soon afterwards beheaded. The duchess was relieved of the government, which was committed to the firmer hands of Alva, who, to

² Many Catholics sympathized at first with the Protestants and acted with them, because they felt that Philip's acts were in direct violation of the chartered rights and privileges of the cities and provinces of the Netherlands.

aid him in the management of affairs, organized a most iniquitous tribunal, known in history as the "Council of Blood."

The Inquisition was now reëstablished, and a perfect reign of terror began. The number of Alva's victims during his short rule—he is said to have boasted that he had put to death over eighteen thousand—might almost persuade us that he had deliberately purposed the extermination of the people of the Netherlands.

296. William of Orange (the Silent).—The eyes of all patriot Netherlanders were now turned to the Prince of Orange as their only deliverer. The prince was a deeply religious man, and believed



FIG. 35.—WILLIAM OF ORANGE (THE SILENT). (After a painting by *Mierevelt*, Amsterdam)

himself called of Heaven to the work of rescuing his country from Spanish tyranny. Up to this time he had been a Catholic, having been brought up as a page in the household of the Emperor Charles V. He now embraced Protestantism; but both as a Catholic and as a Protestant he opposed persecution on account of religious belief.

William of Orange, like our own Washington, was a statesman rather than a soldier; yet even as a leader in war he evinced talent of a high order. The Spanish armies were commanded successively by the most experienced and distinguished generals of Europe; but the prince coped ably with them all, and in the masterly service which he rendered his country earned the title of "the Founder of Dutch Liberties."

297. The Capture of Briel (1572); the Beginning of the Sea Power of the Dutch.—It was the nature of their country, half land, half water, which enabled the Dutch to make such a

prolonged and finally successful resistance to the power of Spain. The Dutch triumphed because the sea helped them. The influence that this element was to exert upon the struggle was foreshadowed early in the conflict by a celebrated exploit of Dutch seamen.

The circumstances of this exploit were these. Almost at the outset of the war the Prince of Orange had commissioned some sailors as privateers to prey upon Spanish ships and to harass the coast towns which favored the enemy. Soon the sea was swarming with these privateers, — Water Beggars, they were called, — who, out of reach of restraint, became veritable freebooters, and revived the days and emulated the deeds of the Saxon corsairs who a thousand years before had put out from these same or neighboring creeks and lagoons.

One day a squadron of twenty or more ships of these buccanniers made a descent upon the port of Briel (or Brill) in Holland, seized the place, and held it for the Prince of Orange. It was a small affair in itself, somewhat like the affair at Lexington in the American Revolution, but it stirred wonderfully the people of the Lowlands. Straightway other places opened their gates to the Water Beggars, and thus the rebellion speedily gained a secure basis for regular naval operations. It was the real beginning of the great sea power of the future Dutch Republic, which for two hundred years was to be a potent force in history.

Having now gained some idea of the causes of the revolt and the nature of the struggle, we must hurry on to the issue of the matter. In so doing we shall pass unnoticed many sieges and battles, negotiations and treaties.⁸

298. **"The Spanish Fury"; the Pacification of Ghent (1576).** — The year 1576 was marked by a revolt of the Spanish soldiers on account of their not receiving their pay, the costly war having drained Philip's treasury. The mutinous army marched through the land, pillaging city after city and paying themselves with the spoils. The beautiful city of Antwerp was ruined. The atrocities

⁸ Read in Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* the siege and sack of Haarlem and the relief of Leyden.

committed by the frenzied soldiers caused the outbreak to be called the "Spanish Fury."

The terrible state of affairs led to an alliance between Holland and Zealand and the other fifteen provinces of the Netherlands, known in history as the Pacification of Ghent (1576). The resistance to the Spanish crown had thus far been carried on without concerted action among the several states.

299. The Union of Utrecht (1579).— With the Spanish forces under the lead first of Don John of Austria, the hero victor of Lepanto (sec. 258), and afterwards of Prince Alexander of Parma, a commander of most distinguished ability, the war now went on with increased vigor, fortune, with many vacillations, inclining to the side of the Spaniards. Disaffection arose among the Netherlanders, the outcome of which was the separation of the northern and southern provinces. The seven Protestant states of the North, the chief of which were Holland and Zealand, by the Treaty of Utrecht (1579), drew together in a permanent confederation, known as the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, with the Prince of Orange as stadtholder. In this league was laid the foundation of the renowned Dutch Republic.

The ten Catholic provinces of the South, although they continued their contest with Philip a little longer, ultimately submitted to Spanish tyranny. Portions of these provinces were eventually absorbed by France, while the remainder after varied fortunes finally became the present kingdom of Belgium. With their history we shall have no further concern at present, but turn now to follow the fortunes of the rising republic of the North.

300. The "Ban" and the "Apology" (1580-1581).— William of Orange was, of course, the animating spirit of the confederacy formed by the Treaty of Utrecht. In the eyes of Philip and his viceroys he appeared the sole obstacle in the way of the pacification of the provinces and their return to obedience. In vain had Philip sent against him the ablest and most distinguished commanders of the age; in vain had he endeavored to detach him from the cause of his country by magnificent bribes of titles, offices, and fortune.

Philip now resolved to employ public assassination⁴ for the removal of the invincible general and the incorruptible patriot. He published a ban against the prince, declaring him an outlaw and "the chief disturber of all Christendom and especially of these Netherlands," and offering any one who would deliver him into his hands "dead or alive" pardon for any crime he might have committed, a title of nobility, and twenty-five thousand crowns in gold or in lands.

The prince responded to the infamous edict by a remarkable paper entitled "The Apology of the Prince of Orange," the most terrible arraignment of tyranny that was ever penned. The "Apology" was scattered throughout Europe, and everywhere produced a profound impression.

301. The Declaration of Independence (July 26, 1581).—The United Provinces had not yet formally renounced their allegiance to the Spanish crown. They now deposed Philip as their sovereign, broke in pieces his seal, and put forth to the world their memorable Declaration of Independence, a document as sacred to the Dutch as the Declaration of 1776 is to Americans.

The preamble contains these words: "Whereas God did not create the people slaves to their prince, to obey his commands, whether right or wrong, but rather the prince for the sake of the subjects, to govern them according to equity, to love and support them as a father his children or a shepherd his flock, and even at the hazard of life to defend and preserve them; [therefore] when he does not behave thus, but, on the contrary, oppresses them, seeking opportunities to infringe their ancient customs and privileges, exacting from them slavish compliance, then he is no longer

⁴ We use the expression "public assassination" in order to indicate a change in Philip's methods. He had all along tried to get rid of the prince by private or secret assassination. Now his edict of outlawry makes the proposed assassination avowedly a public or governmental affair. To comprehend this proceeding we must bear in mind that in the sixteenth century assassination was not looked upon with that utter abhorrence with which we rightly regard it; in the language of the historian Lingard, it was then "one of the recognized weapons of constitutional power." In the petty states of Italy it was a weapon resorted to almost universally, and seemingly without any compunctions of conscience, and even in the North many of the rulers at one time and another had recourse to it. Compare secs. 285, 310, and 321.

a prince, but a tyrant, and the subjects . . . may not only disallow his authority but legally proceed to the choice of another prince for their defense."

This language was a wholly new dialect to the ears of Philip and of princes like him. They had never heard anything like it before uttered in such tones by a whole people. But it was a language destined to spread wonderfully and to become very common. We shall hear it often enough a little later in the era of the Political Revolution. It will become familiar speech in England, in America, in France, — almost everywhere.

302. Assassination of the Prince of Orange. — "The ban soon bore fruit." Upon the 10th day of July, 1584, after five previous unsuccessful attempts had been made upon his life, the Prince of Orange was fatally shot by an assassin named Balthasar Gérard. Philip approved the murder as "an exploit of supreme value to Christendom." The murderer was put to death with hideous torture, but his heirs received the promised reward, being endowed with certain of the estates of the prince and honored by elevation to the rank of the Spanish nobility.

303. Progress of the War ; the Truce of 1609. — Severe as was the blow sustained by the Dutch patriots in the death of the Prince of Orange, they did not lose heart, but continued the struggle with the most admirable courage and steadfastness. Prince Maurice, a mere youth of seventeen years, the second son of William, was chosen stadtholder in his place, and he proved himself a worthy son of the great chief and patriot.

The war now went on with unabated fury. France as well as England became involved, both fighting against Philip, who was now laying claims to the crowns of both countries. The destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 marked the turning point of the struggle, yet not the end of it. Europe finally grew weary of the seemingly interminable struggle,⁵ and the Spanish commanders becoming convinced that it was impossible to reduce the Dutch rebels to obedience by force of arms, negotiations were entered

⁵ In 1598 peace was made between Spain and France, and then in 1604 between Spain and England.

into which issued in the celebrated Truce of 1609. This truce was in reality an acknowledgment by Spain of the independence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, although the Spanish king was so unwilling to admit the fact of his inability to reduce the rebel states to submission that the treaty was termed simply "a truce for twelve years." Spain did not formally acknowledge their independence until forty years afterwards, in the Peace of Westphalia, at the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648).

304. Influence of the Establishment of the Dutch Republic upon both the Religious and the Political Revolution. — The successful issue of the revolt in the Netherlands meant much for the cause of the reformers. The Protestant Lowlands formed a sort of strategic point in the great fight between Catholicism and Protestantism. The loss of this ground might have proved fatal to the Protestant cause.

The establishment of the Dutch Republic had also great significance for the Political Revolution. In the seventeenth century it was Holland that was the foremost champion of the cause of political freedom against Bourbon despotism. It was a worthy descendant of William the Silent who, at one of the most critical moments of English history, when Englishmen were struggling doubtfully against Stuart tyranny, came to their help and rescued English liberties from the peril in which they lay (sec. 378).

Selections from the Sources. — *Old South Leaflets*, No. 72, "The Dutch Declaration of Independence"; No. 69, "The Description of the New Netherlands." ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, pp. 171-179.

Secondary Works. — MOTLEY, J. L., *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 3 vols., and *History of the United Netherlands*, 4 vols. These histories by Motley are classical, but they lack in judicial spirit. They should be read in connection with BLOK, J. P., *History of the People of the Netherlands*, 3 vols. YOUNG, A., *History of the Netherlands*. HARRISON, F., *William the Silent*. PUTNAM, R., *William the Silent*, 2 vols. For New Netherlands, consult FISKE, J., *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, 2 vols.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The protective waterworks of the Low Countries. 2. How William of Orange acquired his title of "the Silent." 3. The siege and relief of Leyden. 4. The New Netherlands.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE HUGUENOT WARS IN FRANCE

(1562-1629)

305. The Reformation in France. — Before Luther posted his ninety-five theses at Wittenberg there had appeared in the University of Paris and elsewhere in France men who from the study of the Scriptures had come to entertain opinions very like those of the German reformer. The movement thus begun received a fresh impulse from the uprising in Germany under Luther. The new doctrines found adherents especially among the lesser nobility and the burgher class, and struck deep root in the south, — the region of the old Albigenian heresy.

306. King Francis II, Catherine de' Medici, and the Guises. — The Valois¹ king, Francis II, began his reign in 1559. His wife was the young and fascinating Mary Stuart of Scotland. Francis was a weak-minded boy of sixteen years. The power behind the throne was the chiefs of the family of the Guises, who were zealous Catholics, and the king's mother, Catherine de' Medici.

Catherine was an Italian. She seems to have been almost or quite destitute of religious convictions of any kind. She was determined to rule, and this she did by holding the balance of power between the two religious parties. When it suited her purpose, she favored the Protestants; and when it suited her purpose better, she favored the Catholics. Through her counsels and policies she contributed largely to make France wretched through the reigns of her three sons, and to bring her house to a miserable end.

307. The Huguenot² Leaders: the Bourbon Princes and Admiral Coligny. — Opposed to the Guises were the Bourbon princes,

¹ The Valois kings (compare sec. 174, n. 9) of the sixteenth century were Louis XII (1498-1515), Francis I (1515-1547), Henry II (1547-1559), Francis II (1559-1560), Charles IX (1560-1574), and Henry III (1574-1589). Henry IV, the successor of Henry III, was the first of the Bourbons.

² This word is probably from the German *Eidgenossen*, meaning "oath comrades."

Antony, king of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Condé. Next after the brothers of Francis II, they were heirs to the French throne.

Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, was "the military hero of the French Reformation." Early in life he had embraced the doctrines of the reformers, and remained to the last the trusted and consistent, though ill-starred, champion of the Protestants. His is the most heroic figure that emerges from the unutterable confusion of the times.

The foregoing notice of parties and their chiefs will suffice to render intelligible the events which we have now to narrate.

308. The Massacre of Vassy (1562).—After the short reign of Francis II (1559–1560) his brother Charles came to the throne as Charles IX. He was only ten years of age, so the queen mother assumed the government in his name. Pursuing her favorite maxim to rule by setting one party as a counterpoise to the other, she gave the Bourbon princes a place in the government, and also by a royal edict gave the Huguenots a limited toleration and forbade their further persecution.

It was the violation by the adherents of the Duke of Guise of this edict of toleration that finally caused the growing animosities of the two parties to break out in civil war. While passing through the country with a body of armed attendants, at a small place called Vassy the duke came upon a company of Huguenots assembled in a barn for worship. His retainers first insulted and then attacked them, killing about forty of the company and wounding many more.

Under the lead of Admiral Coligny and the Prince of Condé, the Huguenots now rose throughout France. Philip II of Spain sent an army to aid the Catholics, while Elizabeth of England extended help to the Huguenots. For the lifetime of a generation France was distressed, almost without respite, by bitter internecine strife.

309. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1572).—Eight years after the massacre of Vassy, Catherine de' Medici, as a means of cementing a treaty which had been arranged between the two parties, proposed that the Princess Margaret,

the sister of Charles IX, should be given in marriage to Henry of Bourbon, the new young king of Navarre. The announcement of the proposed alliance caused great rejoicing among Catholics and Protestants alike, and the chiefs of both parties crowded to Paris to attend the wedding.

Before the festivities which followed the nuptial ceremonies were over, the world was shocked by one of the most awful crimes recorded in history, — the massacre of the Huguenots in Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day. The circumstances which led to this fearful tragedy were these. Among the Protestant nobles who came up to Paris to attend the wedding was Admiral Coligny. Jealous of his influence over her son, Catherine resolved upon the death of the admiral. The attempt miscarried, Coligny receiving only a slight wound from the assassin's ball. The Huguenots rallied about their wounded chief with loud threats of revenge. Catherine, driven on by insane fear, now determined upon the death of all the Huguenots in Paris as the only measure of safety. By the 23d of August the plans for the massacre were all arranged. On the evening of that day Catherine went to her son and represented to him that the Huguenots had formed a plot for the assassination of the royal family and the leaders of the Catholic party, and that the utter ruin of their house and cause could be averted only by the immediate destruction of the Protestants within the city walls. The order for the massacre was then laid before him for his signature. The weak-minded king shrank in terror from the deed, and at first refused to sign the decree; but overcome at last by the representations of his mother, he exclaimed, "I consent, provided not one Huguenot be left alive in France to reproach me with the deed."

A little past the hour of midnight on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1572), at a preconcerted signal, — the tolling of a bell, — the massacre began. Coligny was one of the first victims. For three days and nights the massacre went on within the city. The number of victims in Paris is variously estimated at from one thousand to ten thousand. With the capital cleared of Huguenots, orders were issued to the principal cities of France to purge

themselves in like manner of heretics. In many places the decree was disobeyed; but in others the orders were carried out, and frightful massacres took place. The number of victims throughout the country is unknown; estimates differ widely, running from two thousand to a hundred thousand.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day raised a cry of execration in almost every part of the civilized world, among Catholics and Protestants alike. Philip II, however, is said to have received the news with unfeigned joy; while Pope Gregory XIII caused a *Te Deum*, in commemoration of the event, to be sung in the church of St. Mark in Rome. Respecting this it should in justice be said that Catholic writers maintain that the Pope acted under a misconception of the facts, it having been represented to him that the massacre resulted from a thwarted plot of the Huguenots against the royal family of France and the Catholic Church.

310. Reign of Henry III (1574-1589).—Instead of exterminating heresy in France, the massacre only served to rouse the Huguenots to a more determined defense of their faith. Throughout the last two years of the reign of Charles IX and the fifteen succeeding years of the reign of his brother Henry III the country was in a state of turmoil and war. Finally, in 1589, the king, who jealous of the growing power and popularity of the Duke of Guise had caused him to be assassinated, was himself struck down by the avenging dagger of a Dominican monk. With him ended the House of Valois.

311. Accession of Henry IV (1589).—Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, who for many years had been the most prominent leader of the Huguenots, now came to the throne as the first of the Bourbon kings. His accession lifted into prominence one of the most celebrated royal houses in European history. The political story of France, and indeed of Europe, from this time on to the French Revolution, and for some time after that, is in great part the story of the House of Bourbon.

Henry did not secure without a struggle the crown that was his by right. The nation, still mainly Catholic, was not ready to acquiesce in the accession to the French throne of a Protestant

prince. The Catholics declared for Cardinal Bourbon, Henry's uncle, and France was thus kept in the whirl of civil war.

312. Henry turns Catholic (1593).—After the war had gone on for about four years the quarrel was closed, for the time being, by Henry's becoming a Catholic. Mingled motives led Henry to do this. He was personally liked, even by the Catholic chiefs, and he was well aware that it was only his Huguenot faith that prevented their being his hearty supporters. Hence duty and policy seemed to concur in urging him to remove the sole obstacle in the way of their ready loyalty, and thus to bring peace and quiet to distracted France.

313. The Edict of Nantes (1598).—As soon as Henry had become the fully acknowledged king of France, he gave himself to the work of composing the affairs of his kingdom. The most noteworthy of the measures he adopted to this end was the publication of the celebrated Edict of Nantes (April 13, 1598). By this decree the Huguenots were secured perfect freedom of conscience and practical freedom of worship. All public offices and employments were opened to them the same as to Catholics. Moreover, they were allowed to retain possession of a number of fortified towns as pledges of good faith and as places of defense. Among these places was the important city of La Rochelle.

The granting of this edict is memorable for the reason that it was the first formal recognition by a great European state of the principle of religious toleration and equality. Here, for the first time since the triumph of Christianity over paganism in the Roman Empire, a great nation makes a serious effort to try to get along with two creeds in the state. It was almost a century before even England went as far in the way of granting freedom of conscience and of worship.

314. Character of Henry IV's Reign ; his Plans and Death.—With the temporary hushing of the long-continued quarrels of the Catholics and Protestants, France entered upon such a period of prosperity as she had not known for many years. Henry's paternal solicitude for his humblest subjects secured for him the title of Father of his People. In devising and carrying

out his measures of reform, the king was aided by one of the most prudent and sagacious advisers that ever strengthened the hands of a prince, — the illustrious Duke of Sully (1560–1641).

Towards the close of his reign Henry, feeling strong in his resources and secure in his power, began to revolve in his mind vast projects for the aggrandizement of France and the weakening of her old enemy, the House of Hapsburg, in both its branches.⁸ He was making great preparations for war, when the dagger of a fanatic named Ravaillac cut short his life and plans (1610).

315. Louis XIII (1610–1643); Cardinal Richelieu and his Policy. —

The reign of Henry's son and successor, Louis XIII, was rendered notable by the ability of his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), the Wolsey of France, one of the most remarkable characters of the seventeenth century. For the space of eighteen years this ecclesiastic was the actual sovereign of France, and swayed the destinies not only of that country but, it might almost be said, those of Europe as well.

Richelieu's policy was twofold:

first, to render the authority of the French king absolute in France; second, to make the power of France supreme in Europe.

316. Siege and Capture of La Rochelle (1627–1628); Political Power of the Huguenots broken. — To reach his first end Richelieu resolved to break down the political power of the Huguenot chiefs, who, "Protestants first and Frenchmen afterwards," were constantly challenging the royal authority and threatening the



FIG. 36. — CARDINAL RICHELIEU. (After the painting by *Philippe de Champagne*)

⁸ In connection with his designs against the House of Hapsburg, Henry is represented in Sully's *Memoirs* as having had in mind a most magnificent scheme, — the organization of all the Christian states of Europe into a great confederation or commonwealth, and the abolition of war by the creation of an international peace tribunal. This scheme is known as the "Grand Design."

dismemberment of France. Accordingly he led in person an army to the siege of La Rochelle, which the Huguenots were planning to make the capital of an independent Protestant commonwealth. After a gallant resistance of more than a year the city was compelled to open its gates (1628).

The Huguenots maintained the struggle a few months longer in the south of France, but were finally everywhere reduced to submission. The result of the war was the complete destruction of the political power of the French Protestants. A treaty of peace called the Edict of Grace (1629) left them, however, freedom of worship, according to the provisions of the Edict of Nantes. This treaty properly marks the close of the religious wars which had now distressed France, intermittently, for two generations.

317. Richelieu and the Thirty Years' War. — When Cardinal Richelieu came to the head of affairs in France there was going on in Germany the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Although Richelieu had just crushed French Protestantism, he now gave assistance to the Protestant German princes because their success meant the division of Germany and the humiliation of Austria. Richelieu did not live to see the end either of the Thirty Years' War or of that which he had begun with Spain; but his policy, carried out by others, finally resulted, as we shall learn hereafter, in the humiliation of both branches of the House of Hapsburg and the lifting of France to the first place among the powers of Europe.

Selections from the Sources. — DUKE OF SULLY, *Memoirs* (Bohn). For a short account of the contents of this work, consult *Historical Sources in Schools* (Report to the New England History Teachers' Association, pp. 99–102). *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iii, No. 3, extracts under "The Reformation in France." ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, pp. 179–185.

Secondary Works. — BAIRD, H. M., *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*; and THEODORE BEZA. BESANT, W., *Gaspard de Coligny*. WILLERT, P. F., *Henry of Navarre*. HASSALL, A., *The French People*, chaps. x and xi. LODGE, R., *Richelieu*. PARKMAN, F., *Pioneers of France in the New World*; for the Huguenots in Florida and Brazil, and Champlain and his associates. See also FISKE, J., *New England and New France*, chaps. i–iii.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Catherine de' Medici. 2. Admiral Coligny and his project of French settlements in Brazil and Florida. 3. The Duke of Sully. 4. The "Grand Design."

CHAPTER XXV

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

(1618-1648)

318. Nature and Causes of the War. — The long and calamitous Thirty Years' War was the last great combat between Protestantism and Catholicism in Europe. It started as a struggle between the Protestant and Catholic princes of Germany, but gradually involved almost all the states of the continent, degenerating at last into a shameful and heartless struggle for power and territory.

The real cause of the war was the enmity existing between the German Protestants and Catholics. But if a more specific cause be sought, it will be found in the character of the articles of the celebrated Religious Peace of Augsburg (sec. 254). The Catholics and Protestants did not interpret alike the provisions of that compromise treaty. Each party by its encroachments gave the other occasion for complaint. The Protestants at length formed for their mutual protection a league called the Evangelical Union (1608). In opposition to the Union, the Catholics formed a confederation known as the Holy League (1609). All Germany was thus prepared to burst into the flames of a religious war.

319. The Bohemian Period of the War (1618-1623). — The flames that were to desolate Germany for a generation were first kindled in Bohemia, where were still smoldering embers of the Hussite wars, which two centuries before had desolated that land (sec. 192). The Protestants there rose in revolt against their Catholic king, Ferdinand,¹ elected a new Protestant king,² and drove out the Jesuits. The war had scarcely opened when, the imperial office falling vacant, Ferdinand was elected Emperor.

¹ Ferdinand was the head of the House of Hapsburg, which family had long held the throne of Bohemia. After his election to the imperial office, mentioned a little farther on in the text, his title became Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-1637).

² Frederick V, Elector Palatine, son-in-law of James I of England.

With the power he now wielded, together with the help he received from the Catholic League, it was not a difficult matter for him to quell the Protestant insurrection in his royal dominions. The leaders of the revolt were executed and the reformed faith in Bohemia was almost uprooted.

320. The Danish Period (1625–1629). — The situation of affairs at this moment in Germany, with a zealous and powerful Catholic, inclined and prepared to follow in the footsteps of Charles V, at the head of the Germanic body, filled not only the Protestant princes of Germany but all the Protestant powers of the North with the greatest alarm. Christian IV, king of Denmark, supported by England and the Dutch Netherlands, threw himself into the struggle as the champion of German Protestantism. What is known as the Danish period of the war now begins (1625).

The war, in the main, proved disastrous to the Protestant allies,⁸ and Christian IV was finally constrained to make peace with the Emperor (Peace of Lübeck, 1629) and retire from the struggle.

321. The Swedish Period (1630–1635): Wallenstein, Gustavus Adolphus, Tilly — and Wallenstein again. — At this moment of seeming triumph Ferdinand was impelled by rising discontent and jealousies to dismiss from his service his most efficient general, Wallenstein. Only a few months before this, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, with a veteran and enthusiastic army of sixteen thousand Swedes, had appeared in North Germany as the champion of the dispirited and leaderless Protestants. Various motives had concurred in leading him thus to intervene in the struggle. He was urged to this course by his strong Protestant convictions and sympathies. Furthermore, the progress of the imperial arms in North Germany was imperiling Swedish interests in the Baltic, and threatening to establish the supremacy of the Austrian Hapsburgs over what was regarded by the sovereigns of Sweden as a Swedish lake.

The Protestant princes' jealousy and distrust of the Swede Gustavus now contributed to a most terrible disaster. At this

⁸ Among the important episodes of the war were the defeat of the king of Denmark by Tilly at Lutter (1626), and the unsuccessful siege of Stralsund by Wallenstein (1628).

moment Tilly, leader of the forces of the Holy League, was besieging the Protestant city of Magdeburg. But the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, from whom the city should have received help, would not, or at least did not, coöperate with Gustavus in raising the siege. In a short time the city was taken by storm and given up to sack and pillage. Thousands of the inhabitants perished miserably. Tilly wrote to Ferdinand that since the fall of Troy and Jerusalem such a victory had never been seen.

The cruel fate of Magdeburg excited the alarm of the Protestant princes. The Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony now united their forces with those of the Swedish king. Tilly was twice defeated, and in his last battle fatally wounded (1632). In the death of Tilly, Ferdinand lost his most trustworthy general.

The imperial cause appeared desperate. There was but one man in Germany who could turn the tide of victory that was running so strongly in favor of the Swedish monarch. That man was Wallenstein, and to him the Emperor now turned. Wallenstein agreed to raise an army, provided his control of it should be absolute. Ferdinand was constrained to grant all that his old general demanded. Wallenstein now raised his standard, to which rallied the adventurers not only of Germany but of all Europe as well.

With an army of forty thousand men obedient to his commands, Wallenstein risked a battle with the Swedes on the memorable field of Lützen, in Saxony. The Swedes won the day, but lost their leader and sovereign (1632).



FIG. 37. — GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. (From a painting by *Vandyke*)

We may sum up the results of Gustavus Adolphus' intervention in the Thirty Years' War in these words of the historian Gindely: "He averted the overthrow with which Protestantism was threatened in Germany."

Notwithstanding the death of their great king and commander, the Swedes did not withdraw from the war. Hence the struggle went on, the advantage being for the most part with the Protestant allies. Ferdinand, at just this time, was embarrassed by the suspicious movements of his general, Wallenstein. Becoming convinced that he was meditating the betrayal of the imperial cause, the Emperor caused him to be assassinated (1634). This event marks very nearly the end of the Swedish period of the war.

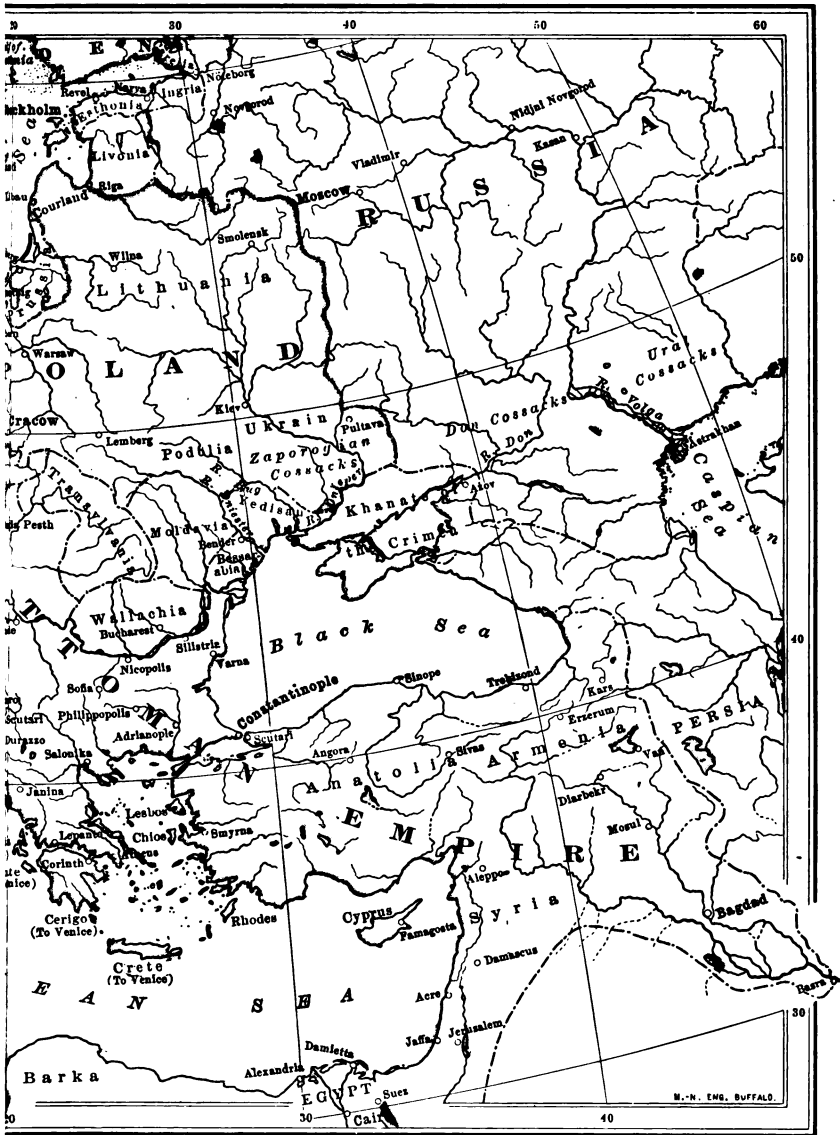
322. The Swedish-French Period (1635-1648).—Had it not been for the selfish and ambitious interference of France, the woeful war which had now desolated Germany for half a generation might here have come to an end, for both sides were weary of it. But Richelieu was not willing that the war should end until the House of Austria was completely humbled. Accordingly he encouraged the Swedish chancellor Oxenstiern, as he had Gustavus, to carry on the war, promising him the aid of the French armies.

The war thus lost in large part its original character of a contention between the Catholic and Protestant princes of Germany, and became a political struggle between the House of Austria and the House of Bourbon, in which the former was fighting for existence, the latter for national aggrandizement.

And so the miserable war went on year after year. It had become a heartless and conscienceless struggle for spoils. The Swedes fought to fasten their hold upon the mouths of the German rivers, the French to secure a grasp upon the Rhine lands. The earlier actors in the drama at length passed from the scene, but their parts were carried on by others.

323. The Peace of Westphalia (1648).—The war was finally ended by the celebrated Peace of Westphalia. The chief articles of this important peace may be made to fall under two heads, — those relating to territorial boundaries and those respecting religion.





As to the first, these cut short in three directions the actual or nominal limits of the Holy Roman Empire. Switzerland and the United Netherlands were severed from it; for though both of these countries had been for a long time practically independent of the Empire, this independence had never been acknowledged in any formal way. France gained lands which gave her a foothold on the Rhine and an open door into Germany, — a door which remained open until 1871, when Germany pushed France back from the river and closed and safeguarded the door.

Sweden, already a great maritime power, was given territories in North Germany (Western Pomerania and other lands⁴) which gave her command of the mouths of three important German rivers, — the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser.

The changes within the Empire were many, and some of them important. Brandenburg especially, the nucleus of a future great state, received considerable additions of territory.

The articles respecting religion were even more important than those which established the metes and bounds of the different states. Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists were all put upon the same footing. Every prince, with some reservations, was to have the right to make his religion the religion of his people, and to banish all who refused to adopt the established creed; but such nonconformists were to have five years in which to emigrate.⁵

The different states of the Empire — they numbered over four hundred, counting the free imperial cities — were left almost wholly independent of the imperial authority. They were given the right to enter into alliances with one another and with foreign princes, but not, of course, against the Emperor or the Empire. This provision made the Empire merely a loose confederation.

These were some of the most important provisions of the noted Peace of Westphalia. For more than two centuries they formed the fundamental law of Germany.

⁴ These lands still remained a part of the Germanic body, and the king of Sweden thus became a prince of the Empire and entitled to a seat in the German Diet.

⁵ The history of the Palatinate illustrates the workings of this provision of the peace: in the space of sixty years the people of that principality were compelled by their successive rulers to change their religion four times. But this was an exceptional case.

324. Effects of the War upon Germany.— It is impossible to picture the wretched condition in which the Thirty Years' War left Germany. When the struggle began, the population of the country was thirty millions; when it ended, twelve millions. Two thirds of the personal property had been destroyed. Many of the once large and flourishing cities were reduced to "mere shells." The Duchy of Würtemberg, which had half a million of inhabitants at the commencement of the war, at its close had barely fifty thousand. The once powerful Hanseatic League was virtually broken up. On every hand were the charred remains of the hovels of the peasants and the palaces of the nobility. Vast districts lay waste without an inhabitant. The very soil in many regions had reverted to its primitive wildness. The lines of commerce were broken, and some trades and industries swept quite out of existence.

The effects upon the fine arts, upon science, learning, and morals, were even more lamentable. Painting, sculpture, and architecture had perished. The cities which had been the home of all these arts lay in ruins. Poetry had ceased to be cultivated. Education was neglected. Moral law was forgotten. Vice, nourished by the licentious atmosphere of the camp, reigned supreme. Thus civilization in Germany, which had begun to develop with so much promise, received a check from which it did not begin to recover, so benumbed were the very senses of men, for a generation and more.

325. Conclusion.— The Peace of Westphalia is a prominent landmark in universal history. It marks the end of the Reformation period and the beginning of that of the Political Revolution. Henceforth, speaking broadly, men will fight for constitutions, not for creeds. We shall find them more intent on questions of civil government and political rights than on questions of Church government and religious dogmas. We shall not often see one nation attacking another, or one party in a nation assaulting another party, on account of a difference in religious opinion.⁶

⁶ The Puritan Revolution in England may look like a religious war, but we shall learn that it was primarily a political contest, — a struggle against despotism in the state.

But in setting the Peace of Westphalia to mark the end of the Era of Religious Wars we do not mean to convey the idea that men had come to embrace the beneficent doctrine of religious toleration. As a matter of fact, no real toleration had yet been reached, — nothing save the semblance of toleration. The long conflict of a century and more, and the vicissitudes of fortune, which to-day gave one party the power of the persecutor and to-morrow made the same sect the victims of persecution, had simply forced all to the practical conclusion that they must tolerate one another, — that one sect must not attempt to put another down by force. But it has required the broadening and liberalizing lessons of the two centuries and over that have since passed to bring men to see, even in part, that the thing they *must* do is the very thing they *ought* to do.

With this single word of caution we now pass to the study of the Era of the Political or Democratic Revolution, a period characterized in particular by the growth of divine-right kingship and by the great struggle between despotic and liberal principles of government.

Selections from the Sources. — The student will do well to begin his study of the Thirty Years' War by a careful reading of *Historical Leaflets* (Crozer Theological Seminary), No. 5, "The Peace of Augsburg." He will here learn how deep-seated and irreconcilable were the differences which divided the religious parties in Germany. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, chap. xxix.

Secondary Works. — GINDELY, A., *History of the Thirty Years' War*, 2 vols.; the best history for English readers. Chaps. x and xi of vol. ii, bearing upon the peace negotiations, are of special interest. FLETCHER, C. R. L., *Gustavus Adolphus and the Struggle of Protestantism for Existence*. GARDINER, S. R., *The Thirty Years' War*. HENDERSON, E. F., *A Short History of Germany*, vol. i, chaps. xvii and xviii. BRYCE, J., *The Holy Roman Empire*, chaps. xviii and xix. FISHER, G. P., *History of the Reformation*, chap. xv, summarizes from the Protestant side the results of the Reformation; BALMES, J., *European Civilization; Protestantism and Catholicism compared*, and SPAULDING, M. J., *The History of the Protestant Reformation*, Parts I and II, contain discussions of the subject from the Catholic point of view.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Articles of the Peace of Augsburg, the violation of which caused trouble. 2. Wallenstein. 3. Tilly and the sack of Magdeburg. 4. Pictures of Germany at the end of the war.

FOURTH PERIOD—THE ERA OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION

(From the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, to the Twentieth Century)

I. THE AGE OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHY: THE PRE- LUDE TO THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

(1648-1789)

CHAPTER XXVI

INTRODUCTORY: THE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS AND THE MAXIMS OF THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

326. The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings. — Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was widely held a theory of government which during that period probably had as great an influence upon the historical development in Europe as the theory of the Empire and the Papacy exerted during the Middle Ages. This theory is known as the Divine Right of Kings.

According to this theory the nation is a great family with the king as its divinely appointed head. The duty of the king is to govern like a father; the duty of the people is to obey their king even as children obey their parents. If the king does wrong, is cruel, unjust, this is simply the misfortune of his people; under no circumstances is it right for them to rebel against his authority, any more than for children to rise against their father. The king is responsible to God alone, and to God the people, quietly submissive, must leave the avenging of all their wrongs.¹

"Kings are the ministers of God" — it is the eloquent Bossuet, the court chaplain of Louis XIV, who speaks — "and his

¹ All that the people can do when the king misuses his authority is to petition him "to amend his fault" — and "to pray to God."

vicegerents on the earth." "The throne of a king is not the throne of a man, but the throne of God himself. . . . The person of kings is sacred, and it is sacrilege to harm them." "They are gods, and partake in some fashion of the divine independence."²

Before the close of the period upon which we here enter we shall see how this theory of the divine right of kings worked out in practice, — how dear it cost both kings and people, and how the people by the strong logic of revolution demonstrated that they have a divine and inalienable right to govern themselves.³

327. History of the Doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings.— This theory that kings rule by divine right has a history well worth tracing. Among primitive peoples, like the early Greeks, we find the king ruling by divine right, — by right of his descent from the gods. In Egypt the Pharaoh was regarded as partaking of the divine nature. In ancient Judea the king was the Lord's anointed, and ruled as his vicegerent on earth. In the days of the Roman emperors their subjects, especially in the East, were prone to regard the head of the Empire as set apart from ordinary men. They built temples in honor of "the divine Cæsar."

But to trace the origin of the doctrine as applied to kings of modern times, we need not go farther back than to the establishment of the mediæval Papacy. The popes, as we have learned, ruled by what may be termed divine right. All acknowledged their office and authority to be of divine origin and appointment. But when the emperors of German origin got into controversy with the popes in regard to the relation of the imperial to the papal power, then it was that the supporters of the emperors framed the counter-theory of the divine origin of the imperial

² See Psalms lxxxii. 6.

³ There was much in the history of the Middle Ages to convince men that absolute monarchy, if not a divinely appointed form of government, was at least the best form. Every other form had been tried and found wanting, having issued either in tyranny or in anarchy. Witness the intolerable oppression of the aristocratic government of the feudal lords; witness the tyranny of the theocratic government of the priesthood; witness the turbulence of society under the democratic régime of the Italian cities. Peace and security within the state had been secured only through the growth of the royal power. Hence the political axiom of this age, an age just escaping from feudal anarchy, was that of the Homeric Greeks, — "The rule of many is not a good thing; let there be one leader only, one king."

authority. Thus Dante in his *De Monarchia* maintains that the Emperor rules as much by divine right as does the Pope. Then later in the fourteenth century, after the Empire had been practically destroyed by the Papacy and the kings had taken up the fight against the papal see, their supporters naturally began to preach the doctrine of the divine nature of the royal authority. This was the starting point of the theory in its modern form.

When finally the Reformation came and with it even still keener strife between the lay rulers of the revolted nations and the Roman see, then the theory of the divine nature of the royal power received perforce a great expansion. For when the Pope excommunicated a heretic king and exhorted his subjects to take up arms against him, then the royalist writers and preachers proclaimed more loudly than ever the doctrine of the divine right of princes and the wickedness of disobedience and rebellion. Fostered in this way, the doctrine of the sacred character of kingship and the virtue of passive obedience in the subject struck deep and firm root.

328. Character of the Absolute Sovereigns and their Relation to the Democratic Revolution. — What use did the kings make of their vast and unlimited authority? As a class they made a betrayal of the great trust. Too many of them acted upon the maxim of Louis XIV of France, — “Self-aggrandizement is at once the noblest and the most agreeable occupation of kings.” They seemed to think that their subjects were made for their use and that their kingdoms were their personal property. War became a royal pastime. A great part of the bloody wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which centuries may be regarded as covering roughly the age of absolute monarchy, were wars that originated in frivolous personal jealousies, in wicked royal ambitions, or in disputes respecting dynastic succession. So generally did the wars of this period spring from questions of the latter nature, that by some historians the age is called the Era of Dynastic Wars.⁴

⁴ There is need of caution here, however. Not all the wars of this age were frivolous, artificial, or personal. There were, as we shall see, wars involving great issues

Now all this misuse of royal power, all these unholy wars with their trains of attendant evils, did much to discredit divine-right kingship and to bring in government by the people. "Bad kings help us," Emerson affirms, "if only they are bad enough." Many of the kings of this period were bad enough to be supremely helpful. It was during this age of the kings that the forces set loose by the Renaissance and the Reformation engendered the tempest which overwhelmed forever divine-right kingship and its gilded appendage of privileged aristocracy.

329. The Enlightened Despots. — But not all the kings of this age were imbecile or wicked. There were among them many wise and benevolent rulers. Especially during the latter part of the eighteenth century did there appear monarchs known as the Enlightened Despots, who, under the influence of the teachings of French philosophy, came to entertain reasonable views of their duties and of their obligations to their subjects.

These sovereigns did not give up the idea that unlimited monarchy is the best form of government and that the people should have no part in public affairs. They sincerely believed that the power of the king should be unlimited, but they emphasized the doctrine that this power should be exercised solely in the interest of the people. Thus the idea of the royal power being a trust, the royal office a stewardship, was made prominent. The king became the servant of his people.

The great place which the rulers of this disposition held in the history of the century immediately preceding the French Revolution is indicated by these words of the historian Professor H. Morse Stephens: "The most characteristic feature in government of the eighteenth century," he says, "was the existence and the work of the Enlightened Despots."

and principles, — questions of systems of government and forms of civilization. The war in England between the Parliament and the king was the first act in the drama of the Political Revolution; and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) was a struggle involving as momentous questions as were ever arbitrated by the sword. Commercial and colonial interests too were coming to be more generally the concern of governments, and some of the greatest wars of the eighteenth century had their origin in national jealousies touching trade and colonies.

Prominent among the sovereigns deemed worthy a place among the Enlightened Despots are Catherine the Great of Russia and Frederick the Great of Prussia. Concerning them and their work we shall have something to say in the following chapters. It will suffice here if we simply observe that the issue of this great experiment in government illustrated anew what had been demonstrated by the rule of the Tyrants in the cities of ancient Greece, and by that of the Cæsars at Rome, — namely, that absolute power cannot safely be lodged in the hands of a single person. It is certain sooner or later to be misused.

As it has been well put, absolute power in a single person is a good thing when joined with perfect wisdom and perfect goodness. But unfortunately these qualifications of the ideal autocrat are seldom found united in the same individual, and still less seldom are they transmitted from father to son. It is at just this point that absolute hereditary monarchy, as a practical form of government, breaks down beyond hope and without remedy.

Selections from the Sources. — FILMER, *Patriarcha*. This work, which was first published in 1680, is the classical English treatise in exposition and defense of divine-right kingship. For a short selection from KING JAMES, *Law of Free Monarchies*, see LEE, *Source-Book*, pp. 337, 338.

Secondary Works. — FIGGIS, J. N., *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings*; an able and interesting discussion of the subject. GAIRDNER, J., and SPEDDING, J., *Studies in English History*; contains a valuable essay entitled, "The Divine Right of Kings: History of the Doctrine." This essay is a reprint of an article by Dr. Gairdner in *The Contemporary Review* for September, 1869. STEPHENS, H. MORSE, *Syllabus of Lectures on Modern European History*, Lect. li, "The Enlightened Despots"; suggests important viewpoints.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Dante's argument in his *De Monarchia* for the supernatural character of the imperial office. 2. The reforms of the Enlightened Despots. See *Stephens*.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

(1643-1715)

330. Louis XIV as the Typical Divine-Right King. — Louis XIV of France stands as the representative of divine-right monarchy. He shall himself expound to us his conception of government.¹ These are his words: "Kings are absolute lords; to them belongs naturally the full and free disposal of all the property of their subjects, whether they be churchmen or laymen." "For subjects to rise against their prince, however wicked and oppressive he may be, is always infinitely criminal. God, who has given kings to men, has willed that they should be revered as his lieutenants, and has reserved to himself alone the right to review their conduct. His will is that he who is born a subject should obey without question."

The doctrine here set forth Louis is said to have expressed in this terser form: *L'État c'est moi* (I am the State). He may never have uttered these exact words, but the famous epigram at least embodies perfectly his ideas of kingship. In his own view he was by divine commission the sole legislator, judge, and executive of the French nation.

This theory of government was indeed, as we have seen, no novel doctrine to the Europe of the seventeenth century; but Louis was such an ideal autocrat that somehow he made autocratic government attractive. Other rulers imitated him, and it became the prevailing theory that kings have a "divine right" to rule, and that the people should have no part at all in government.

¹ It should be noted that Louis' subjects, at least the great majority of them, also believed in government by one, — and not without reason. They had had sorry experience with government by many, under the régime of the nobles. Of government by all, by themselves, it was not possible for them to have any clear conception, if any conception at all. It needed a hundred years and more of autocratic misrule and oppression to call into existence that revolutionary idea.

331. The Administration of Mazarin (1643-1661). — The religious war in Germany was still in progress when, in 1643, Louis XIII died, leaving the vast authority which his great minister Cardinal Richelieu had done so much to consolidate, as an inheritance to his little son Louis, a child of five years.

During the prince's minority the government was in the hands of his mother, Anne of Austria, as regent. She chose as her chief



FIG. 38. — LOUIS XIV. (After a painting by *Philippe de Champagne*)

minister an Italian ecclesiastic, Cardinal Mazarin, who in his administration of affairs followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, Richelieu, carrying out with great ability the policy of that minister (sec. 317). Before his death the House of Austria in both its branches had been humiliated and crippled, and the House of Bourbon was ready to assume the lead in European affairs.

332. Louis XIV becomes his Own Prime Minister. — Mazarin died in 1661. Upon this event Louis, now twenty-three years of age, calling together the heads of the various departments of the

government, said to them that in the future he should himself attend to affairs. He then charged the secretaries not to sign any paper, not even a passport, without his express commands.

From this time on for more than half a century Louis was his own prime minister. He gave personal attention to every matter, even the most trivial. Probably no wearer of a crown, Philip II of Spain possibly excepted, ever worked harder at "the trade of a king," as he himself designated his employment. He had able

men about him, but they planned and worked — and sometimes chafed — under his minute directions and tireless superintendence.

333. The Wars of Louis XIV. — During the period of his personal administration of the government Louis XIV was engaged in four great wars: (1) a war respecting the Spanish Netherlands (1667–1668); (2) a war with the Protestant Netherlands (1672–1678); (3) the War of the Palatinate, or of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697); and (4) the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). All these wars were, on the part of the French monarch, wars of conquest and aggression, or wars provoked by his ambitious and encroaching policy. The most inveterate enemy of Louis during all this period was the Dutch Republic, the representative and champion of liberty.

334. The War concerning the Spanish Netherlands (1667–1668). — Upon the death in 1665 of Philip IV of Spain, Louis laid claim, in the name of his wife, to portions of the Spanish Netherlands and led an army into the country. The Hollanders were naturally alarmed, fearing that Louis would also want to annex their country to his dominions. Accordingly they effected what was called the Triple Alliance with England and Sweden, checked the French king in his career of conquest, and, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668, forced him to give up much of the territory he had seized.

335. The War with the Protestant Netherlands (1672–1678). — The second war of the French king was against the United Netherlands. His attack upon this little state was prompted by a variety of motives. In the first place, the Hollanders' intervention in the preceding war had stirred his resentment. Then these Dutchmen represented everything to which he was opposed, — self-government, Protestantism, and free thought.

In this war Louis found himself confronted by the armies of half of Europe. For several years the struggle was waged on land and sea, — in the Netherlands, all along the Rhine, upon the English Channel, in the Mediterranean, and on the coasts of the New World. Finally an end was put to the war by the Peace of Nimeguen (1678). Louis gave up his conquests in Holland, but

kept a large number of towns and fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, besides the free county of Burgundy (Franche-Comté) on his eastern frontier. Thus Louis came out of this tremendous struggle with enhanced reputation and fresh acquisitions of territory. People now began to call him the *Grand Monarch*.

336. Louis seizes the City of Strasburg (1681).—Ten years of comparative peace now followed for Western Europe. Among the many indefensible acts of Louis during this period there were two which deserve special notice, since, while marking the culmination of Louis' power and illustrating his arrogant and unjust use of that power, they also mark the turning point in his fortunes. The first of these was the seizure of the free city of Strasburg and a score of other important places on the left bank of the Rhine, belonging to the Empire. Strasburg was of supreme military importance to Louis on account of her strong fortifications, which rendered her mistress of the Rhine.

337. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).—The second act to which we refer was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the gracious decree by which Henry IV guaranteed religious freedom to the French Protestants (sec. 313). By this cruel measure all the Protestant churches were closed, and every Huguenot who refused to embrace the Catholic faith was outlawed. The persecution which the Huguenots had been enduring, and which was now greatly increased in violence, is known as the *Dragonnades*, from the circumstance that *dragoons* were quartered upon the Protestant families, with full permission to annoy and persecute them in every way "short of violation and death," to the end that the victims of these outrages might be constrained to recant, which multitudes did.

Under the fierce persecutions of the *Dragonnades* probably as many as three hundred thousand of the most skillful and industrious of the subjects of Louis were driven out of the kingdom. The effects upon France of this exodus were most disastrous. Several of the most important and flourishing of the French industries were ruined, while the manufacturing interests of other

countries, particularly those of the Protestant Netherlands, England, and Brandenburg, were correspondingly benefited by the energy, skill, and capital which the exiles carried to them. Many of the fugitive Huguenots sought refuge in America; and no other class of emigrants, save the Puritans of England, cast

Such healthful leaven 'mid the elements
That peopled the new world.²

338. **The War of the Palatinate, or of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697).**—The indirect results of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes were quite as calamitous to France as were the direct results. The indignation that the measure awakened among the Protestant nations contributed to enable William III of the United Netherlands to organize a formidable confederacy against Louis, known as the League of Augsburg (1686).

Louis resolved to attack the confederates. Seeking a pretext for beginning hostilities, he laid claim to properties in the Palatinate, and hurried a large army into the country, which was quickly overrun. But being unable to hold the conquests he had made, Louis ordered that the country be laid waste. Among the places reduced to ruins were the historic towns of Heidelberg, Spire, and Worms. Even fruit trees, vines, and crops were destroyed. Upwards of a hundred thousand peasants were rendered homeless.

Another and more formidable coalition, known as the Grand Alliance, was now formed against Louis (1689). It embraced England, Holland, Sweden, Spain, Savoy, the Emperor, and several of the German princes. For ten years Europe was a great battlefield. It was very much such a struggle as that waged a century later by the allied monarchies of Europe against Napoleon, when they fought for the independence of the continent.

Both sides at length becoming weary of the contest and almost exhausted in resources, the struggle was closed by the Peace of Ryswick (1697). There was a mutual surrender of conquests made during the war, and Louis had also to give up many of the places he had seized before the beginning of the conflict.

² See Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*.

339. War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714).—Barely three years had passed after the Peace of Ryswick before the great powers of Europe were involved in another war, known as the War of the Spanish Succession.

The proximate circumstances out of which this war grew were these. In 1700 the king of Spain, Charles II, the last male descendant in Spain of the great Emperor Charles V, died, leaving his crown — the disposition of which had been made a matter of endless discussion and infinite intrigue, for Charles was childless — to Philip, Duke of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV. The duke, a mere lad of seventeen years, assumed the bequeathed crown with the title of Philip V, and thus became the founder of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain. "There are no longer any Pyrenees," is the way in which Louis is reported to have expressed his exultation over this virtual union of France and Spain.

The common danger led to the forming of a second Grand Alliance⁸ against France, a main object of which was to eject Philip from the Spanish throne and to seat thereon Archduke Charles of Austria, the second son of the Emperor Leopold I. The two greatest generals of the allies were the Duke of Marlborough (John Churchill), the ablest commander, except Wellington perhaps, that England has ever produced, and Prince Eugene of Savoy, who was in the imperial service.

For thirteen years all Europe was shaken with war. During the progress of the struggle were fought some of the most memorable battles in European history, — Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, — in all of which the genius of Marlborough and the consummate skill of Prince Eugene won decisive victories for the allies.

In the year 1711, a vacancy having occurred in the imperial office, Archduke Charles was elected Emperor. This changed the whole aspect of the Spanish question, for now to place Charles upon the Spanish throne would be to give him a dangerous preponderance of power; would be, in fact, to reëstablish the great

⁸ The alliance embraced at first England, the Protestant Netherlands, Austria, and other German states, and later was joined by Portugal and Savoy.

monarchy of Charles V. Consequently the Grand Alliance, already weakened from other causes, fell to pieces, and the war was ended by the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastadt (1714).

By the provisions of these treaties the Bourbon prince, Philip of Anjou, was left upon the Spanish throne, but on the condition that there should never be a union of the French and Spanish crowns upon the same head. His dominions also were pared away on every side. Gibraltar and the island of Minorca were ceded to England; Milan, Naples, the island of Sardinia, and the Catholic Netherlands were given to Austria; and Sicily to the Duke of Savoy. Spain was thus shorn of nearly half her territories in Europe. France also suffered in her colonial possessions and claims, being forced to cede Nova Scotia (Acadia) to England and to admit the sovereignty of that country over Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay Territory.

340. Death of the King (1715). — It was amidst troubles, perplexities, and afflictions that Louis XIV's long and eventful reign drew to a close. The heavy and constant taxes necessary to meet the expenses of his numerous wars and to maintain an extravagant court had bankrupted the country, and the cries of his wretched subjects, clamoring for bread, could not be shut out of the royal chamber. Death, too, had invaded the palace, striking down the Dauphin and also two grandsons of Louis, leaving as the nearest heir to the throne his great-grandson, a mere child. On the morning of Sept. 1, 1715, the Grand Monarch breathed his last, bequeathing to this boy of five years a kingdom burdened with debt and filled with misery and dangerous discontent.

341. The Court of Louis XIV. — The court of the Grand Monarch was the most extravagantly magnificent that Europe has ever seen. Never since Nero spread his Golden House over the burnt district of Rome and ensconcing himself amid its luxurious appointments exclaimed, "Now I am housed as a man ought to be," had prince or king so ostentatiously lavished upon himself the wealth of an empire. Louis had half a dozen palaces, the most costly of which was that at Versailles. Here he created, in what was originally a desert, a beautiful miniature universe of which

he was the center, the resplendent sun — he chose the sun as his emblem — around which all revolved and from which all received light and life. And here were gathered the beauty, wit, and learning of France. The royal household numbered over fifteen thousand persons, all living in luxurious idleness at the expense of the people. One element of this enormous family was the great lords of the old feudal aristocracy. Dispossessed of their ancient power and wealth, they were content now to fill a place in the royal household, — to be the king's pensioners and the elegant embellishment of his court.

As can easily be imagined, the court life of this period was shamefully corrupt. Vice, however, was gilded. The most scandalous immoralities were made attractive by the glitter of superficial accomplishment and by exquisite suavity and polish of manner. But, notwithstanding its insincerity and immorality, the brilliancy of the court of Louis dazzled all Europe. The neighboring courts imitated its manners and emulated its extravagances. In all matters of taste and fashion France gave laws to the continent, and the French language became the court language of the civilized world.

342. Literature under Louis XIV. — Although Louis himself was not much of a scholar, he gave a most liberal encouragement to men of letters, thereby making his reign the Augustan Age of French literature. In this patronage Louis was not unselfish. He honored and befriended poets and writers of every class, because thus he extended the reputation of his court. These writers, pensioners of his bounty, filled all Europe with praises of the great king, and thus made the most ample and grateful return to Louis for his favor and liberality.

Almost every species of literature was cultivated by the French writers of this era, yet it was in the province of the drama that the most eminent names appeared. The three great names here are those of Corneille (1606–1684), Racine (1639–1699), and Molière ⁴ (1622–1673).

⁴ Among other world-renowned French writers, philosophers, prelates, and orators who adorned the age of Louis XIV were Descartes (1596–1650), the Father of Modern

343. Relation of the Reign of Louis XIV to the Revolution of 1789. — "If it be asked," says the historian Von Holst, "who did the most towards the destruction of the ancient régime, the correct answer is, beyond all question, Louis XIV, its greatest representative." Louis discredited absolute monarchy by his shameful misuse of his unlimited power. His many wars and his extravagant expenditures on an idle and profligate court weighed France down with crushing and intolerable burdens. It was the vast mass of misery and suffering created by his acting on the monstrous doctrine that "the many are made for the use of one," that did much to prepare the minds and hearts of the French people for the great Revolution.

344. Decline of the French Monarchy under Louis XV (1715-1774). — The supremacy of the House of Bourbon passed away forever with Louis XIV. In passing from the reign of the Grand Monarch to that of his successor we pass from the strongest and outwardly most brilliant reign in French history to the weakest and most humiliating. Louis XV was a despot without possessing any of the possible virtues of a despot. During his reign the French nation made a swift descent towards the abyss of the Revolution of 1789.

For the first eight years of the reign affairs were in the hands of the Duke of Orleans, who was regent during the king's minority. He was a corrupt man, a man absolutely shameless in his vices. Probably Rome in the days of the worst Cæsars witnessed nothing in the way of reckless and riotous living to surpass what France witnessed under what is known as the Regency.

In 1723 the prince's minority ended and he assumed the government. The atmosphere in which he had been brought up had wholly corrupted a nature seemingly prone to evil. He was

Philosophy; Pascal (1623-1662), the prodigy in mathematics and the author of the famous *Provincial Letters*; La Bruyère (1645-1696), novelist and unrivaled depicter of character and manners; Madame de Sévigné (1626-1696), the brilliant letter writer, whose correspondence forms to-day a prized portion of French literature and constitutes a treasure of information for the court historian; Bossuet (1627-1704), the eloquent court preacher and champion of divine-right kingship; and Fénelon (1651-1715), the distinguished prelate and author of *The Adventures of Telemachus*, a disguised satire on the reign of Louis XIV.

completely under the influence of his mistresses, of whom the most notorious was Madame de Pompadour. The loves, the hates, and the caprices of this woman were for nineteen years a chief factor in the decision of the weightiest matters of war and of peace. The highest appointments in the army and the navy were dictated by her. For a long series of years she was practically the prime minister of France.

The conditions surrounding the throne being of this nature, it is not surprising that under Louis XV the influence, power, and prestige of France sensibly declined. She took part, indeed, but usually with injury to her military reputation, in all the wars of this period. The most important of these for France was the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), known in America as the French and Indian War, which resulted in the loss to France of Canada in the New World and of her Indian empire in the Old.

Selections from the Sources.—*Memoirs of the Duke of Saint-Simon* (trans. by Bayle St. John). Nowhere else can be found so lively and entertaining an account of life at court under Louis XIV and the Regency as here. For glimpses of other sides of the life of the times read the *Letters of Madame de Sévigné*, accessible in different editions. These delightful letters cover the last half of the seventeenth century. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, chap. xxxi.

Secondary Works.—For a comprehensive view of this period there is nothing superior to *The Age of Louis XIV*, 2 vols., and *The Decline of the French Monarchy*, 2 vols.,—translations by Mary L. Booth of the corresponding parts of Henri Martin's *Histoire de France*. WAKEMAN, H. O., *Europe, 1598-1715*, chaps. vi, vii, and ix-xv. KITCHIN, G. W., *A History of France*, vol. iii. HASSALL, A., *The French People*, chaps. xii-xiv; and *Louis XIV and the Zenith of the French Monarchy*. PERKINS, J. B., *France under Mazarin*, vol. ii; *France under the Regency*; and *France under Louis XV*, 2 vols. These are all scholarly works of marked merit. WILLIAMS, H. N., *Madame de Pompadour*. For the history of the French in America during the age of Louis XIV, the reader will have recourse to FISKE, J., *New England and New France*, chap. iv; and to PARKMAN, F., *Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*.

Topics for Class Reports.—1. The Parliament of Paris. 2. Colbert. 3. New France under Louis XIV. 4. The Palace at Versailles. 5. Life at the court. 6. John Law and the Mississippi Bubble.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE STUARTS AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

(1603-1689)

I. THE FIRST TWO STUARTS

Reign of James the First (1603-1625)

345. James' Idea of Kingship. — With the end of the Tudor line (sec. 288), James VI of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart, came to the English throne as James I of England. The accession of the House of Stuart brought England and Scotland under the same sovereign, but each country still retained its own legislature.

James, like the other Stuarts who followed him on the English throne, was a firm believer in the doctrine of the divine right of kings. He held that hereditary princes are the Lord's anointed, and that their authority can in no way be questioned or limited by people, priest, or Parliament. These are his own words: "It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do: good Christians content themselves with his will revealed in his word; so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that."

346. Contest between James and the Commons; the Great Protestation. — But the Commons of the English Parliament, and probably the majority of the English people, differed with their Stuart kings in their views concerning the nature of government, and particularly concerning the nature of the English government. In this difference of views lay hidden, as we shall learn, the germs of the Civil War and of all that grew out of it, — the Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and the Revolution of 1688.

The chief matters of dispute between the king and the Commons were the limits of the authority of the former in matters touching legislation and taxation, and the nature and extent of the

privileges of the latter. As to the limits of the royal power, James acted as though his prerogatives were practically unbounded. He issued proclamations which in their scope were really laws, and then enforced these edicts by fines and imprisonment, as though they were regular statutes of Parliament. Moreover, taking advantage of some uncertainty in the law as regards the power of the king to collect customs at the ports of the realm, he laid new and unusual duties upon imports and exports. James' judges were servile enough to sustain him in this course, some of them going so far as to say in effect that "the seaports are the king's gates, which he may open and shut to whom he pleases."

As to the privileges of the Commons, that body insisted, among other things, upon their right to determine all cases of contested election of their members, and to debate freely all questions concerning the common weal, without being liable to prosecution or imprisonment for words spoken in the House. James denied that these privileges were matters of right pertaining to the Commons, and repeatedly intimated to them that it was only through his own gracious permission and the favor of his ancestors that they were allowed to exercise these liberties at all, and that if their conduct was not more circumspect and reverential he should take away their privileges entirely.

On one occasion, the Commons having ventured in debate upon certain matters of state which the king had forbidden them to meddle with, he, in reproving them, made a more express denial than ever of their rights and privileges, which caused them, in a burst of noble indignation, to spread upon their journal a brave protest, known as "The Great Protestation," which declared that "the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defense of the realm and the Church of England . . . are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in Parliament" (1621).

When intelligence of this action was carried to the king he angrily adjourned Parliament, sent for the journal of the House,

and with his own hand struck out the obnoxious resolution. Then he dissolved Parliament, and even went so far as to imprison several of the members of the Commons. In these high-handed measures we get a glimpse of the Stuart theory of government, and see the way paved for the final break between king and people in the following reign.

347. Colonies and Trade Settlements. — The reign of James I is signalized by the commencement of that system of colonization which has resulted in the establishment of the English race in almost every quarter of the globe. In the year 1607 Jamestown, so named in honor of the king, was founded in Virginia. This was the first permanent English settlement within the limits of the United States. In 1620 some Separatists, or Pilgrims, who had found in Holland a temporary refuge from persecution, pushed across the Atlantic and, amidst heroic sufferings and unparalleled hardships, established the first settlement in New England and laid the foundations of civil liberty in the New World.

During this same reign the English also established themselves in the ancient land of India. In 1613 the East India Company established their first factory at Surat. This was the humble beginning of the great English Empire in the East.

348. Literature. — One of the most noteworthy literary labors of the reign under review was a new translation of the Bible, known as *King James' Version*, published in 1611. This version is the one in general use in the Protestant Church at the present day.

The most noted writers of James' reign were a bequest to it from the brilliant era of Elizabeth (sec. 289). Sir Walter Raleigh, the petted courtier of Elizabeth, fell on evil days after her death. On the charge of taking part in a conspiracy against the crown, he was sent to the Tower, where he was kept a prisoner for thirteen years. From the tedium of his long confinement he found relief in the composition of a *History of the World*. He was at last beheaded (1618).

The close of the life of the great philosopher Francis Bacon was scarcely less sad than that of Sir Walter Raleigh. He held the office of Lord Chancellor, and, yielding to the temptations of

the corrupt times upon which he had fallen, accepted fees from the suitors who brought cases before him. He was impeached, and was sentenced by the House of Lords to pay a heavy fine and to imprisonment in the Tower. But the king in pity released him from all the penalty and even conferred a pension upon him. He lived only five years after his fall and disgrace, dying in 1626.

Bacon must be given the first place among the philosophers of the English-speaking race. His system is known as the "Inductive Method of Philosophy." It insists upon experiment and a careful observation of facts as the only true means of arriving at a knowledge of the laws of nature.

Reign of Charles the First (1625-1649)

349. The Petition of Right (1628). — Charles I came to the throne with all his father's lofty notions about the divine right of kings. He made his own these words of Scripture: "Where the word of a king is, there is power: and who may say unto him, What doest thou?"¹ Consequently the old contest between king and Parliament was straightway renewed. The first two Parliaments of his reign Charles dissolved speedily, because instead of voting supplies they persisted in investigating public grievances.

After the dissolution of his second Parliament, Charles endeavored to raise by means of benevolences (sec. 264) and forced loans the money he needed to carry on the government. But all his expedients failed to meet his needs, and he was forced to fall back upon Parliament. The Houses met and promised to grant him generous subsidies, provided he would approve a certain *Petition of Right* which they had drawn up. Next after Magna Carta this document is the most important in the constitutional history of England. Four abuses were provided against: (1) the raising of money by loans, benevolences, taxes, etc., without the consent of Parliament; (2) imprisonment without cause shown; (3) the quartering of soldiers in private houses, — a very vexatious thing; and (4) trial by martial law, that is, without jury.

¹ Ecclesiastes viii. 4; cited by Charles on his trial in 1649.

Charles was as reluctant to assent to the petition as King John was to assent to Magna Carta ; but he was at length forced to give sanction to it by the use of the usual formula, " Let it be law as desired " (1628).

350. Charles rules without Parliament (1629-1640). — It soon became evident that Charles was utterly insincere when he gave his assent to the Petition of Right. He immediately violated its provisions in attempting to raise money by forbidden taxes and loans. For eleven years he ruled without Parliament, thus changing the government of England from a government by king, Lords, and Commons to what was in effect an absolute and irresponsible monarchy, like that of France or of Spain.

Prominent among Charles' most active agents were his ministers, Thomas Wentworth, later Earl of Strafford, and William Laud, Bishop of London and later Archbishop of Canterbury, both of whom earned unenviable reputations through their industry and success in building up the absolute power of their master upon the ruins of the ancient institutions of English liberty.²

351. John Hampden and Ship Money (1637-1638). — Among the illegal taxes levied during this period of tyranny was a species known as "ship money," so called from the fact that in early times the kings, when the realm was in



FIG. 39. — CHARLES I. (After a painting by Vandyke)

² The high-handed and tyrannical proceedings of Charles and his agents were enforced by three iniquitous courts of usurped and arbitrary jurisdiction. These were known as the "Council of the North," the "Star Chamber," and the "High

danger, called upon the seaports and maritime counties to contribute ships and ship material for the public service. Charles and his agents, in looking this matter over, conceived the idea of extending this tax over the inland as well as the seaboard counties.

Among those who refused to pay the tax was a country gentleman named John Hampden. The case was tried in the Court of Exchequer, before all the twelve judges. Judgment was finally rendered in favor of the king, although five of the twelve judges stood for Hampden. The case was lost; but the people, who had been following the arguments, were fully persuaded that the decision went against Hampden simply for the reason that the judges stood in fear of the royal displeasure should they dare to decide the case adversely to the crown.

The arbitrary and despotic character which the government had now assumed in both civil and religious matters, and the hopelessness of relief or protection from the courts, caused thousands to seek in the New World that freedom and security which was denied them in the home land.

352. The Bishops' War (1639).—England was ready to rise in open revolt. Events in Scotland hastened the crisis. The king was attempting to impose the English liturgy (slightly modified) upon the Scotch Presbyterians. To the Scotch this seemed little short of a restoration of the "Popery" they had renounced. All classes, nobles and peasants alike, bound themselves by a solemn covenant to resist to the very last every attempt to make innovations in their religion.

The king resolved to crush the movement by force, but soon found that war could not be carried on without money, and was constrained to summon Parliament in hopes of obtaining a vote of supplies. Instead of making the king a grant of money, the Commons first gave their attention to the matter of grievances, whereupon Charles dissolved the Parliament. The Scottish forces

Commission Court." All of these courts sat without jury, and being composed of the creatures of the king, were of course his subservient instruments. Often their decisions were unjust and arbitrary, their punishments harsh and cruel.

crossed the border, and the king, helpless, with an empty treasury and a seditious army, was forced again to summon the two Houses.

353. The Long Parliament. — Under this call met on Nov. 3, 1640, the Parliament which, from the circumstance of its sitting for twelve years, and legally existing for nearly twenty, became known as the "Long Parliament." A small majority of the members of the Commons of this Parliament were stern and determined men, men who fully realized the danger in which the traditional liberties of Englishmen were set, and who were resolved to put a check to the despotic course of the king.

Almost the first act of the Commons was the impeachment of Strafford, as the most prominent instrument of the king's tyranny. He was finally condemned by a bill of attainder⁸ and sent to the block.

To secure themselves against dissolution before their work was done, the Houses passed a bill which provided that they should not be adjourned or dissolved without their own consent.

354. The Insurrection in Ireland (1641). — The situation was critical; it was rendered still more so by an uprising in Ireland. The aim of the insurrection was to wipe out the colony of English and Scotch settlers in Ulster, planted in the reign of James I, and to bring to an end Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. Thousands of the English and Scotch settlers perished miserably. It was not long before an English Protestant army made savage reprisals (sec. 364).

355. Charles' Attempt to seize the Five Members. — An imprudent act on the part of Charles now precipitated the nation into the gulf of civil war, towards which events had been so rapidly drifting. With the design of overawing the Commons, the king

⁸ A bill of attainder is an act passed like an ordinary statute of Parliament. Before Thomas Cromwell's time the accused had a right to be heard in his own defense. But Cromwell, to please his master Henry, brought it about that Parliament could venture to condemn a person without a hearing. It was poetic justice that made Cromwell himself a victim of this instrument of tyranny. Because of the misuse by the English Parliament of this power, the framers of the Constitution of the United States, in enumerating the powers of Congress, inserted this clause: "No bill of attainder . . . shall be passed."

made a charge of treason against five of the leading members, among whom were Hampden and Pym, and sent officers to effect their arrest; but the accused were not to be found. The next day Charles himself, accompanied by armed attendants, went to the House for the purpose of seizing the five members; but, having been forewarned of the king's intention, they had withdrawn from the hall. The king was not long in realizing the state of affairs, and with the observation, "I see the birds have flown," withdrew from the chamber.

Charles had taken a fatal step. The nation could not forgive the insult offered to its representatives. All London rose in arms. The king, frightened by the storm which his rashness had raised, fled from the city to York. From the flight of Charles from London may be dated the beginning of the civil war (Jan. 10, 1642).

The Civil War (1642-1649)

356. The Two Parties. — The country was now divided into two great parties. Those that enlisted under the king's standard — on whose side rallied, for the most part, the nobility, the gentry, and the clergy — were known as Royalists, or Cavaliers; while those that gathered about the Parliamentary banner, the townsmen and the yeomanry, were called Parliamentarians, or Roundheads, the latter term being applied to them because many of their number cropped their hair close to the head, simply for the reason that the Cavaliers affected long and flowing locks. The Cavaliers favored the Established Episcopal Church, while the Roundheads were Puritans. During the progress of the struggle the Presbyterians and Independents (later Congregationalists) became the leading factions in the Puritan party.

357. Oliver Cromwell and his "Ironsides." — The war had continued about three years when there came into prominence on the Parliamentary side a man of destiny, one of the great characters of history, — Oliver Cromwell. During the early campaigns of the war, as colonel of a troop of cavalry, he had exhibited his rare genius as an organizer and disciplinarian. His regiment became

famous under the name of "Cromwell's Ironsides." It was composed entirely of "men of religion." Swearing, drinking, and the usual vices of the camp were unknown among them. They advanced to the charge with the singing of psalms. During all the war the regiment was never once beaten.

358. The "Self-Denying Ordinance" and the "New Model" (1645).—The military operations of these earlier years of the war had revealed fatal defects in the Parliamentary army. One was that it was chiefly officered by persons who had received their commissions because of their social rank. The leaders in the Commons got rid of the titled inefficient by means of a measure known as the "Self-Denying Ordinance," which required that members of either House holding commands in the army should resign within forty days.

At the same time Parliament created a new army of twenty-one thousand men, called the "New Model." This differed from the earlier Parliamentary force as a regular army differs from militia. Sir Thomas Fairfax was created commander-in-chief, and Cromwell was made lieutenant-general, which gave him command of the horse.

Religious opinions had not been made a test for admission to the new army; but as a matter of fact its officers were for the most part Independents, and in the course of time the army through their influence became such a body of religious enthusiasts as the world had not seen since Godfrey led his crusaders to the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher. A great part of the men were fervent, God-fearing, psalm-singing Puritans. When not fighting they studied the Bible, prayed, and sang hymns.

359. The Battle of Naseby (1645).—The temper of the "New Model" was soon tried in the battle of Naseby, the decisive engagement of the war. The Royalists were irretrievably beaten. Charles escaped from the field, and ultimately fled into Scotland, thinking that he might rely upon the loyalty of the Scots to the House of Stuart; but on his refusing to sign the Covenant and certain other articles, they gave him up to the English Parliament.

360. "Pride's Purge" (1648). — Now there were many in the Parliament who were in favor of restoring the king to his throne on the basis of conditions which he himself had proposed, that is to say, without requiring from him any sufficient guaranties that he would in the future rule in accordance with the constitution and the laws of the land. The Independents, that is to say Cromwell and the army, saw in this possibility the loss of all the fruits of victory. A high-handed measure was resolved upon, — the exclusion from the House of Commons of all those members who favored the restoration of Charles.

Accordingly an officer by the name of Pride was stationed at the door of the hall to exclude or to arrest the members obnoxious to the army. One hundred and forty-three members were thus kept from their seats, and the Commons became reduced to about fifty representatives. This performance was appropriately called "Pride's Purge." "The minority had now become the majority." But that is not an approved way of creating a majority.

361. Trial and Execution of the King (Jan. 30, 1649). — The Commons thus "purged" of the king's friends now passed a resolution for the immediate trial of Charles for treason. A High Court of Justice, comprising one hundred and thirty-five members, was organized, before which Charles was summoned. Appearing before the court, he denied its authority to try him, consistently maintaining that no earthly tribunal could rightly question his acts. But the trial went on, and before the close of a week he was condemned to be executed "as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation."

In a few days the sentence was carried out. Charles bore himself in the presence of death with great composure and dignity. On the scaffold he spoke these words, the sincerity of which cannot be doubted: "For the people truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever; but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists in having government; . . . it is not in their having a share in the government; that is nothing pertaining to them."

II. THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE (1649-1660)

362. Establishment of the Commonwealth. — A few weeks after the execution of Charles the Commons voted to abolish the office of king as “unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people,” and also to do away with the House of Lords as likewise “useless and dangerous to the people of England,” and to establish a free state under the name of “The Commonwealth.” The executive power was lodged in a Council of State, composed of forty-one persons. Of this body the eminent patriot Sir Henry Vane was the leading member. He was the real head of the government up to the establishment of the Protectorate in 1653.

363. Troubles of the Commonwealth. — The republic thus born of mingled religious and political enthusiasm was beset with dangers from the very first. The execution of Charles had alarmed every sovereign in Europe. Russia, France, and the Dutch Republic all refused to have any communication with the ambassadors of the Commonwealth. The Scots, who too late repented of having surrendered their sovereign into the hands of his enemies, now hastened to wipe out the stain of their disloyalty by proclaiming his son their king, with the title of Charles the Second. The Royalists in Ireland declared for the prince. In England itself the friends of the monarchy were active and threatening.

364. War with Ireland (1649-1652). — The Commonwealth, like the ancient republic of Rome, seemed to gather strength and energy from the very multitude of surrounding dangers. Cromwell was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and sent into that country to crush the Royalist party there. With his “Ironsides” he made quick and terrible work of the suppression of the Catholic Royalists. Having taken by storm the town of Drogheda, he massacred the entire garrison, consisting of three thousand men (1649). The capture of other towns was accompanied by massacres little less terrible. The following is his own account of the manner in which he dealt with the captured garrisons:

"When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for Barbadoes." Cromwell's savage cruelty in his dealings with the Irish is an indelible stain on his memory.

The Catholic Royalists having been defeated, the best lands of the island were confiscated and granted to English and Scotch settlers. This method of securing Protestant ascendancy in the island is what English history designates as the "Cromwellian settlement." The religious ferocity of this Puritan settlement of Ireland fanned fiercely the flame of hatred which earlier wrongs had kindled in the hearts of the Irish people against their English conquerors, — a flame which has not yet burned itself out.⁴

365. War with Scotland (1650-1651). — Cromwell was called out of Ireland by the Council to lead an army into Scotland. At Dunbar he met the Scottish army. Before the terrible onset of the fanatic Roundheads the Scots were scattered like chaff before the wind. Ten thousand were made prisoners, and all the camp train and artillery were captured (1650).

The following year, on the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell gained another great victory over the Scottish army at Worcester, and all Scotland was soon after forced to submit to the authority of the Commonwealth.

366. Cromwell ejects the Long Parliament (1653). — The war in Scotland was followed by one with the Dutch. While this war was in progress Parliament came to an open quarrel with the army. Cromwell demanded of Parliament their dissolution, and the calling of a new body. This they refused; whereupon, taking with him a body of soldiers, Cromwell went to the House, and after listening impatiently for a while to the debate, suddenly sprang to his feet and with bitter reproaches exclaimed: "I will put an end to your prating. Get you gone; give place to better men. You are no Parliament. The Lord has done with you."

⁴ Between the years 1641 and 1652 over half a million inhabitants of the island were destroyed or banished; Prendergast (*Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 177) affirms that during these years and those immediately following five sixths of the population perished. "A man might travel," he says, "for twenty or thirty miles and not see a living creature."

At a prearranged signal his soldiers rushed in. The hall was cleared and the door locked.

In such summary manner the Long Parliament, or the "Rump Parliament," as it was called in derision after "Pride's Purge," was dissolved, after having sat for twelve years. So completely had the body lost the respect of all parties that scarcely a murmur was heard against the illegal and arbitrary mode of its dissolution.

367. The "Little Parliament" and the Establishment of the Protectorate (1653). — Cromwell now called together a new Parliament or more properly a convention, summoning, so far as he might, only religious, God-fearing men. The "Little Parliament," as sometimes called, consisted of one hundred and fifty-six members, mainly religious zealots, who spent much of their time in Scripture exegesis, prayer, and exhortation. Among them was a London leather merchant, named Praise-God Barebone, who was especially given to these exercises. The name amused the people, and as the exhorter was a fair representative of a considerable section of the convention, they nicknamed it "Barebone's Parliament," by which designation it has passed into history.

The "Little Parliament" sat only five months, and then, resigning all its authority into the hands of Cromwell, dissolved itself. A sort of constitution, called the "Instrument of Government," was now drawn up by a council of army officers and approved by Cromwell. This instrument, the first of written constitutions, provided for a Parliament consisting of a single House, a Council of State, and an executive or president serving for life and bearing the title of "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Under this instrument Cromwell became Lord Protector for life.

368. The Protectorate (1653-1659). — Cromwell's power was now almost unlimited. He was virtually a dictator, for he had the power of the army behind him. The Protector summoned, winnowed, and dissolved Parliament at pleasure. He could get together no body of men who could or would work smoothly with him. "The Lord judge between me and you," were his words of dismissal to his last unmanageable and obstinate Parliament.

For five years Cromwell carried on the government practically alone. His rule was arbitrary but enlightened. He gave England the strongest government she had had since the days of Wolsey and of Elizabeth. His aim was "to make England great and to make her worthy of greatness." This worthiness he, zealous Puritan as he was, conceived could be acquired by England

only as her affairs were conducted by godly men and in accord with the plain precepts of Scripture.

Further, in Oliver's mind, the English nation could be God's own people and worthy of greatness only as England upheld the Protestant cause in Europe. Hence he became the protector of Protestantism wherever imperiled. He interposed successfully in behalf of the Huguenots in France, and secured for them a respite from harassment; he obliged the Duke of Savoy to cease his cruel persecution of the Vaudois; and caused the Pope to be informed that if the Protestants continued



FIG. 40. — OLIVER CROMWELL. (After a portrait by *Samuel Cooper*)

to be molested anywhere,—Cromwell laid the blame of everything done against Protestant interests at the door of the Papacy, —the roar of English guns would speedily awaken the echoes of St. Angelo.

369. Cromwell's Death. — Notwithstanding Cromwell was a man of immovable resolution and iron spirit, still he felt sorely the burdens of his government, and was deeply troubled by the anxieties of his position. In the midst of apparent success he was painfully conscious of utter failure. He had wished to establish a

constitutional government. Instead, he found himself a military usurper, whose title was simply the title of the sword. His government, we may believe, was as hateful to himself as to the great mass of the English people. He lived in constant fear of the dagger. With his constitution undermined by overwork and anxiety, fever attacked him, and with gloomy apprehensions as to the terrible dangers into which England might drift after his hand had fallen from the helm of affairs, he lay down to die, passing away on the day which he had always called his "fortunate day" — the anniversary of his birth, and also of his great victories of Dunbar and Worcester (Sept. 3, 1658).

370. Richard Cromwell (1658–1659).—Cromwell with his dying breath — so it was given out — had designated his son Richard as his successor in the office of the Protectorate. Richard was exactly the opposite of his father, — timid, irresolute, and irreligious. The control of affairs that had taxed to the utmost the genius and resources of the father was altogether too great an undertaking for the incapacity and inexperience of the son. No one was quicker to realize this than Richard himself, and after a rule of a few months, yielding to the pressure of the army, he resigned his office.

371. The Restoration (1660). — For some months after the fall of the Protectorate the country trembled on the verge of anarchy. The gloomy outlook into the future and the unsatisfactory experiment of the Commonwealth caused the great mass of the English people earnestly to desire the restoration of the monarchy, — in truth, the majority of the nation had never desired its abolition. Charles Stuart, towards whom the tide of returning loyalty was running, was now in Holland. General Monk, the commander of the army in Scotland and the representative of Scottish sentiment, marched south to London and assumed virtual control of affairs. The Long Parliament, including the members ejected by Pride, now reassembled, and by resolution declared that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom the government is and ought to be by king, Lords, and Commons." An invitation was sent to Prince Charles to return to his people and take his place upon the throne of his ancestors.

Amid the wildest demonstrations of joy Charles stepped ashore on the island from which he had been for nine years an exile. As he observed the extensive preparations made for his reception, and received from all parties the warmest congratulations, he remarked with pleasant satire, "Surely it is my own fault that I have remained these years in exile from a country which is so glad to see me."

372. Puritan Literature ; it lights up the Religious Side of the English Revolution. — No epoch in history receives a fresher illustration from the study of its literature than that of the Puritan Revolution. To neglect this, and yet hope to gain a true conception of that wonderful episode in the life of the English people by an examination of its outer events and incidents alone, would, as Green declares, be like trying to form an idea of the life and work of ancient Israel from *Kings* and *Chronicles*, without *Psalms* and *Prophets*. The true character of the English Revolution, especially upon its religious side, must be sought in the magnificent epic of Milton and the unequaled allegory of Bunyan.

Both of these great works, it is true, were written after the Restoration, but they were both inspired by that spirit which had struck down despotism and set up the Commonwealth. The epic was the work of a lonely, disappointed republican ; the allegory, of a captive Puritan.

Milton (1608-1674) stands as the grandest representative of Puritanism. After the death of Charles I he wrote a famous work in Latin entitled *The Defense of the English People*, in which he justified the execution of the king. The Restoration forced him into retirement, and the last fourteen years of his life were passed apart from the world. It was during these years that, in loneliness and blindness, he composed the immortal poems *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. The former is the "Epic of Puritanism." All that was truest and grandest in the Puritan character found expression in the moral elevation and religious fervor of this the greatest of Christian epics.

John Bunyan (1628-1688) was a Puritan nonconformist. After the Restoration he was imprisoned for twelve years in Bedford jail, on account of nonconformity to the established worship.

It was during this dreary confinement that he wrote his *Pilgrim's Progress*, the most admirable allegory in English literature. The habit of the Puritan, from constant study of the Bible, to employ in all forms of discourse its language and imagery, is best illustrated in the pages of this remarkable work. Here, as nowhere else, we learn what realities to the Puritan were the Bible representations of sin, repentance, and atonement, of heaven and hell.

III. THE RESTORED STUARTS

Reign of Charles the Second (1660–1685)

373. Punishment of the Regicides. — The monarchy having been restored in the person of Charles II, Parliament extended a general pardon to all who had taken part in the late rebellion, except Sir Henry Vane and certain of the judges who had condemned Charles to the block. Thirteen of these were executed with revolting cruelty, their hearts and bowels being cut out of their living bodies. Others of the regicides were condemned to imprisonment for life. Vane was finally executed. Death had already removed the other great leaders of the rebellion, — Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, — beyond the reach of Royalist hate ; so vengeance was taken upon their bodies. These were dragged from their tombs in Westminster Abbey, hauled to Tyburn, and there on the anniversary of Charles' execution were hanged, and afterwards beheaded (1661).

374. The Conventicle Act. — Early in the reign the services of the Anglican Church were restored by Parliament, and harsh laws were enacted against all nonconformists. Thus the Conventicle Act (1664) made it a crime for five persons or more, "over and above those of the same household," to gather in any house or in any place for worship, unless the service was conducted according to the forms of the Church of England.

375. The Covenanters. — In Scotland the attempt to suppress conventicles and introduce Episcopacy was stoutly resisted by the Covenanters (sec. 352), who insisted on their right to worship

God in their own way. They were therefore subjected to persecutions most cruel and unrelenting. They were hunted by English troopers over their native moors and among the wild recesses of their mountains, whither they secretly retired for prayer and worship. The tales of the sufferings of the Scotch Covenanters at the hands of the English Protestants form a most harrowing chapter of the records of the ages of religious persecution.

376. Charles' Intrigues with Louis XIV; "the Popish Plot" (1678). — Charles inclined to the Catholic worship, and wished to reëstablish the Catholic Church, because he thought it more favorable than the Anglican to such a scheme of government as he aimed to set up in England. To reach his end he entered into secret negotiations with Louis XIV of France. The excited state of the public mind, caused by rumors of the king's intrigues, led to a serious delusion and panic. A report was started that the Catholics had planned for England a St. Bartholomew. Each day the rumors of the conspiracy grew more wild and exaggerated. Informers sprang up on every hand, each with a more terrifying story than the preceding. Many Catholics, convicted solely on the testimony of perjured witnesses, became the unfortunate victims of the delusion and fraud.

Reign of James the Second (1685-1688)

377. James' Accession; his Despotic Course. — Charles was followed by his brother James, whose rule was destined to be short and troubled.⁵ Like all the other Stuarts, James held exalted notions of the divine right of kings to rule as they please, and at once set about carrying out these ideas in a most reckless manner. Notwithstanding he had given solemn assurances that he would uphold the Anglican Church, he straightway set about the

⁵ James was barely seated upon the throne before the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II, raised the standard of rebellion. Terrible vengeance was wreaked upon all in any way connected with the movement. The notorious Chief Justice Jeffreys, in what were called the "Bloody Assizes," condemned to death 320 persons and sentenced 841 to transportation. Jeffreys conducted the so-called trials with incredible brutality. See Colby's *Selections from the Sources of English History*, No. 81.

reëstablishment of the Catholic worship. He arbitrarily prorogued and dissolved Parliament. Like his brother Charles, he intrigued with Louis XIV against his own subjects. This despotic course of the king raised up enemies on all sides. No party or sect, save the most zealous Catholics, stood by him. The Tory gentry were in favor of royalty, indeed, but not of tyranny.

378. The Revolution of 1688 and the Declaration of Rights. — The crisis which it was easy to see was impending was hastened by the birth of a prince, as this cut off the hope of the nation that the crown upon James' death would descend to his Protestant daughter Mary, now wife of the Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland. The most active of the king's enemies therefore resolved to bring about at once what they had been inclined to wait to have accomplished by his death. They sent an invitation to the Prince of Orange to come over and take possession of the government, pledging him the united and hearty support of the English nation. William accepted the invitation and straightway began to gather his fleet and army for the enterprise.

The moment the ships of the Prince touched the shores of the island the army and people went over in a body to him. The king was absolutely deserted. Flight alone was left him. The queen was secretly embarked for France, where the king soon after joined her. The last act of the king before leaving England was to disband the army and fling the Great Seal into the Thames.

Almost the first act of the Prince was to issue a call for a convention to provide for the permanent settlement of the crown. This convention did not repeat the error of the Parliament that restored Charles II and give the crown to the Prince and Princess without proper guaranties for the conduct of the government according to the ancient laws of the kingdom. They drew up the celebrated Declaration of Rights, which plainly rehearsed all the old rights and liberties of Englishmen. William and Mary were required to accept this declaration, and to agree to rule in accordance with its provisions, whereupon they were declared King and Queen of England. In such manner was effected what is known in history as "the Glorious Revolution of 1688."

IV. REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY (1689-1702)

379. The Bill of Rights (Dec. 16, 1689). — The Revolution of 1688 and the settlement of the crown upon William and Mary mark an epoch in the constitutional history of England. It settled forever the long dispute between king and Parliament, — and settled it in favor of the latter. The Bill of Rights, which was substantially the articles of the Declaration of Rights framed into a law, and which was one of the earliest acts of the first Parliament under William and Mary, in effect “transferred sovereignty from the king to the House of Commons.”

By shutting out James from the throne and bringing in William, and by the exclusion of Catholic heirs from the succession, it plainly announced that the kings of England derive their right and title to rule not from the accident of birth but from the will of the people, and that Parliament may depose any king, and, excluding from the throne his heirs, settle the crown anew in another family. This uprooted quite thoroughly the doctrine that princes have a divine and inalienable right to the throne of their ancestors, and when once seated on that throne rule simply as the viceregents of God, above all human censure and control. We shall hear constantly less and less in England of this theory of government which for so long a time overshadowed and threatened the freedom of the English people.

The separate provisions of the bill, following closely the language of the Declaration, denied the dispensing power of the crown, — that is to say, the authority claimed by the Stuarts of annulling a law by a royal edict; forbade the king to levy taxes or to keep an army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament; asserted the right of the people to petition for redress of grievances and freely to choose their representatives; reaffirmed, as one of the ancient privileges of both Houses, perfect freedom of debate; and demanded that Parliament be frequently assembled.

Mindful of the attempts of the later Stuarts to reëstablish the Catholic worship, the framers of the bill further declared that all persons holding communion with the Church of Rome or uniting

in marriage with a Catholic should be "forever incapable to possess, inherit, or enjoy the crown and government of the realm." Since the Revolution of 1688 no Catholic has worn the English crown.

All of these provisions now became inwrought into the English constitution, and from this time forward were recognized as part of the fundamental law of the realm.

380. Settlement of the Revenue. — The articles of the Bill of Rights were made effectual by appropriate legislation. One thing which had made the Tudors and Stuarts so independent of Parliament was the custom which prevailed of granting to each king, at the beginning of his reign, the ordinary revenue of the kingdom during his life. This income, with what could be raised by gifts, benevolences, monopolies, and similar expedients, had enabled despotically inclined sovereigns to administer the government and even to wage war without turning to Parliament. All this was now changed. Parliament, instead of granting William the revenue for life, restricted the grant to a single year, and made it a penal offense for the officers of the treasury to pay out money otherwise than ordered by Parliament.

We cannot overestimate the importance of this change in the English constitution. It is this control of the purse of the nation which has made the House of Commons — for all money bills must originate in the Lower House — the actual seat of government, constituting them the arbiters of peace and war.⁶

381. James attempts to recover the Throne: Battle of the Boyne (1690). — The first years of William's reign were disturbed by the efforts of James to regain the throne which he had abandoned. In these attempts he was aided by Louis XIV, and by the Jacobites,⁷ the name given to the adherents of the exile king. The Irish

⁶ The most important constitutional matter of William's reign after those mentioned in the text were the passage by Parliament of the Mutiny Bill, by which the command of the army was given to the king for one year only, and of the Act of Settlement (June 12, 1701), which was "an act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject." The most important article of this act, after that determining the succession, was one providing that the judges should hold office during good behavior, not simply at the will of the king, as hitherto.

⁷ From *Jacobus*, Latin for "James."

gave William the most trouble, but in the decisive battle of the Boyne he gained a great victory over them, and soon all Ireland acknowledged his authority.

382. Plans and Death of William. — The motive which had most strongly urged William to respond to the invitation of the English revolutionists to assume the crown of England was his desire to turn the arms and resources of that country against the great champion of despotism and the dangerous neighbor of his own native country, Louis XIV of France.

The conduct of Louis in lending aid to James in his attempt to regain his crown had so enraged the English that they were quite ready to support William in his wars against him, and so the English and Dutch sailors fought side by side against the common enemy in the War of the Palatinate (sec. 805). A short time after the close of that war broke out the War of the Spanish Succession (sec. 338). In the midst of preparations for this war William was fatally hurt by being thrown from his horse (1702).⁸

Selections from the Sources. — In opposition to FILMER, *Patriarcha* (see Sources for Chapter LXI), read MILTON, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. Of the utmost importance for the period of the Civil War and the Commonwealth are *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, with elucidations by Thomas Carlyle (ed. by S. C. Lomas). For additional material, see HENDERSON, *Side Lights on English History*, pp. 33-214; ROB-INSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, chap. xxx; and KENDALL, *Source-Book*, chaps. xi-xv.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The character and traits of James I and his *Demonologie*. 2. The Plantation of Ulster in Ireland. 3. Milton's *Defense of the English People*. 4. The Great Plague. 5. Butler's *Hudibras*.

⁸ Mary had died before William, and as they left no children, the crown descended to the Princess Anne, Mary's sister, the wife of Prince George of Denmark.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE RISE OF RUSSIA: PETER THE GREAT

(1682-1796)

383. General Remarks. — We left Russia at the close of the Middle Ages a semi-savage, semi-Asiatic power, so hemmed in by barbarian bands and hostile races as to be almost entirely cut off from intercourse with the civilized world (sec. 197). In the present chapter we shall tell how her isolation was broken, and how she was initiated as a member of the European family of nations. The main interest of our story will gather about Peter the Great, whose almost superhuman strength and energy it was that first lifted the great barbarian nation to a prominent place among the Western states.

384. Accession of Peter the Great (1682). — The royal line established in Russia by the old Norseman Rurik (sec. 71) ended in 1598. Then followed a period of confusion and of foreign invasion, known as the Troublous Times, after which a prince of the celebrated House of Romanoff came to the throne (1613). For more than half a century after the accession of the Romanoffs there is little either in the genius or in the deeds of any of the line calculated to draw our special attention. But towards the close of the seventeenth century there ascended the Russian throne "a man of miracles," — a man whose genius and energy and achievements instantly drew the gaze of his contemporaries, and who has elicited the admiration and wonder of all succeeding generations. This was Peter I, known as Peter the Great, one of the remarkable characters of history. He was but seventeen years of age when he assumed the full responsibilities of government.

385. The Conquest of Azof (1696). — At this time Russia possessed only one seaport, Archangel, on the White Sea, the harbor of which for a large part of the year is sealed against vessels by the

extreme cold of that high latitude. Russia, consequently, had no marine commerce; there was no word for *fleet* in the Russian language. Peter saw clearly that the most urgent need of his empire was outlets upon the sea. Hence his first aim was to wrest the Baltic shore from the grasp of Sweden, and the Euxine from the hands of the Turks.



FIG. 41. — PETER THE GREAT. (After a painting by *Karel de Moor*)

In 1695 Peter sailed down the Don and made an attack upon Azof, the key to the Black Sea, but was unsuccessful. The next year, however, repeating the attempt, he succeeded, and thus gained his first harbor on the south.

386. Peter's Visit to the West (1697–1698).—With a view to advancing his naval projects Peter about this time sent a large number of young Russian nobles to Italy, Holland, and England to ac-

quire in those countries a knowledge of naval affairs, forbidding them to return before they had become good sailors.

Not satisfied with thus sending to foreign parts his young nobility, Peter formed the somewhat startling resolution of going abroad himself and learning the art of shipbuilding by personal experience in the dockyards of Holland. Accordingly, in the year 1697, leaving the government in the hands of three nobles, he

set out for the Netherlands. Arriving there, he proceeded to Zaan-dam, a place a short distance from Amsterdam. After a week's stay here, in order to escape the annoyance of the crowds, Peter left the place and went to the docks of the East India Company at Amsterdam. Here he worked for four months, being known among his fellow-workmen as Baas or Master Peter.

From Holland Master Peter went to England to study her superior naval establishment and to learn "the why" and "the wherefore." Here he was fittingly received by King William III, who had presented Peter while in Holland with a splendid yacht, and who now made his guest extremely happy by getting up for him a naval review. Returning from England to Holland, Peter went thence to Vienna, intending to visit Venice; but hearing of an insurrection at home, he set out in haste for Moscow.

387. Peter disbands the Streltsi and creates a New Army after Western Models. — The revolt which had hastened Peter's return from the West was an uprising among the Streltsi, a body of militia, numbering twenty or thirty thousand, who formed the nearest thing to a standing Russian army. In their ungovernable turbulence they remind us of the prætorians of the Roman emperors, or the janizaries of the later Turkish sultans. The present mutiny had been suppressed before Peter's arrival, so that there was nothing now remaining for him to do save to mete out punishment to the ringleaders, of whom a thousand or more were put to death with the cruelest tortures. Peter beheaded some of the wretches with his own hands, and compelled the nobles of his court also to help strike off the heads of the condemned. Nothing better illustrates the barbarism of the Russia of Peter's time than the fact that his acting thus as an executioner never shocked his subjects in the least.

This revolt settled Peter in his determination to rid himself altogether of the insolent and turbulent Streltsi. Their place was taken by a well-disciplined force trained according to the tactics of the Western nations.

388. Peter's Other Reforms. — The reorganization of the Russian military system was only one of the many reforms undertaken

by Peter. The variety of these was so great, and Peter's manner of effecting them so harsh and strenuous, that, as one has aptly expressed it, he fairly "knouted the Russians into civilization."

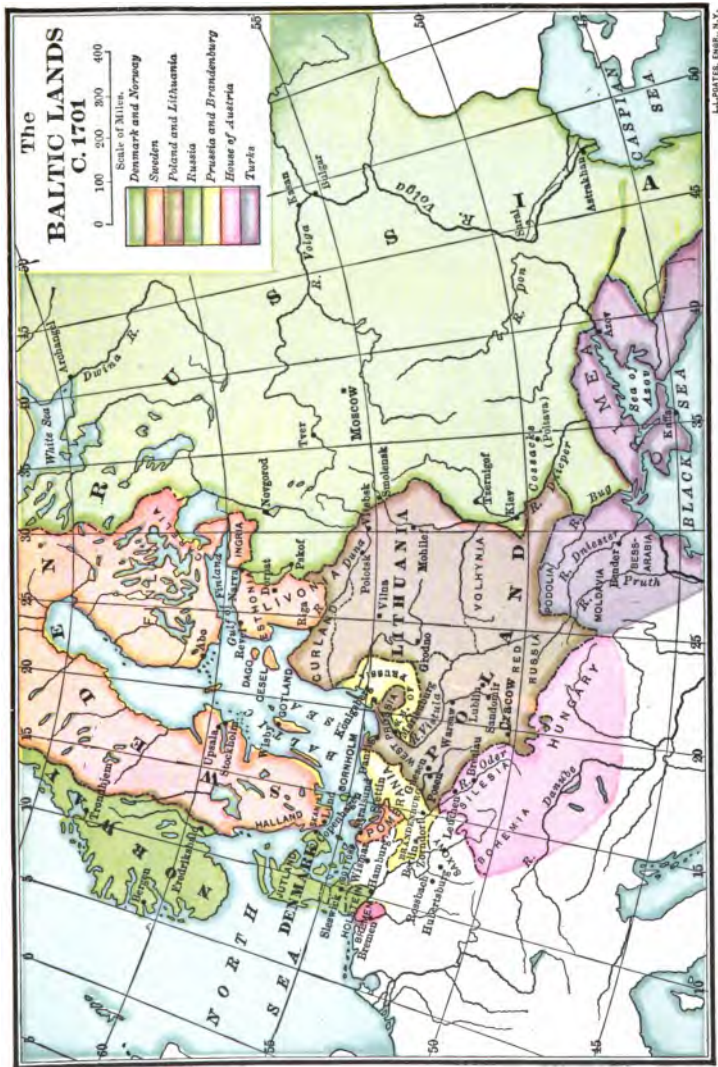
As outgrowths of what he had seen or heard or had had suggested to him on his foreign tour, Peter issued a new coinage, introduced schools, built factories, constructed roads and canals, established a postal system, opened mines, and framed laws modeled after those of the West.

Most important in its political as well as religious consequences was Peter's reform in the ecclesiastical system. At this time the Russian Church formed a sort of state within the state. The head of the Church, bearing the title of Patriarch, was a kind of Russian pope. Through his censorship of the temporal authority and his interference in matters secular he hampered and embarrassed the government. Peter put an end to this state of things. He abolished the patriarchate and in its place created an administrative body, appointed by himself and called the Holy Synod, to take charge of ecclesiastical affairs. Thus the last restraint upon the authority of the Tsar was destroyed. The Russian government became an unlimited monarchy of the purest Oriental type.

389. Charles XII of Sweden; the Swedish Monarchy at his Accession. — Peter's history now becomes intertwined with that of a man quite as remarkable as himself, — Charles XII of Sweden. Sweden was at this time one of the great powers of Europe. The Baltic was virtually a Swedish lake, — the Mediterranean of an empire which aspired to be the mistress of the North.

But unfortunately Sweden could not maintain such a sea empire without hemming in and cramping in their normal development, territorial or commercial, various neighboring states, — in particular Russia, Poland, and Denmark. In this situation lay hidden the germ of the long and obstinate so-named Swedish Wars, which were essentially a struggle for the control of the Baltic.

The accession to the throne in 1697 of the young and inexperienced Charles offered to the jealous enemies and watchful rivals of Sweden seemingly too good an opportunity to be lost



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for pushing her back into the northern peninsula. Accordingly three sovereigns, Frederick IV of Denmark, Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, and Peter the Great of Russia, leagued against him for the purpose of appropriating such portions of his dominions as they severally coveted.

390. The Battle of Narva (1700).— But the conspirators had formed a wrong estimate of the young Swedish monarch. With a well-trained force—a veteran army that had not yet forgotten the discipline of the hero Gustavus Adolphus—Charles threw himself first upon the Danes, and in two weeks forced the Danish king to sue for peace; then he turned his little army of eight thousand men upon the Russian forces of twenty thousand, which were besieging the city of Narva, on the Gulf of Finland, and inflicted upon them a most ignominious defeat. The only comment of the imperturbable Peter upon the disaster was, “The Swedes will have the advantage of us at first, but they will teach us how to beat them.”

391. The Founding of St. Petersburg (1703).— After chastising the Tsar at Narva, the Swedish king turned south and marched into Poland to punish Augustus for the part he had taken in the conspiracy against him. While Charles was busied in this quarter Peter was gradually making himself master of the Swedish lands on the Baltic, and upon a marshy island at the mouth of the Neva was laying the foundations of the city of Petersburg, which he proposed to make the western gateway of his empire. The spot selected by Peter as the site of his new capital was low and subject to inundation,¹ so that the labor required to make it fit for building purposes was simply enormous. The splendid capital stands to-day one of the most impressive monuments of the indomitable and despotic energy of Peter.

392. Invasion of Russia by Charles XII; the Battle of Poltava (1709).— Having defeated the armies of King Augustus and given his crown to another, Charles was now ready to turn his

¹ In selecting such a marshy site for his capital Peter may have been aiming to reproduce Amsterdam, in which city he had spent so much of his time when abroad.

attention once more to the Tsar. With an army of barely forty thousand men he invaded Russia, and finally laid siege to the town of Poltava. Peter marched to its relief, and the two armies met in decisive combat in front of the place. The Swedish army was virtually annihilated. Escaping from the field with a few followers, Charles fled southward and found an asylum in Turkey.²

393. Russia's Title to Baltic Land confirmed; Peter's Death.

— In 1721 the Swedish Wars were brought to an end by the Peace of Nystad, which confirmed Russia's title to all the eastern Baltic lands that Peter had wrested from the Swedes. The undisputed possession of so large a strip of the Baltic seaboard vastly increased the importance and influence of Russia, which now assumed a place among the leading European powers.

Peter's eventful reign was now drawing to a close. Four years after the end of the Swedish Wars, being then in his fifty-fourth year, he died of a fever brought on by his excesses and careless exposures. Probably in the case of no other European nation has any single personality left so deep and abiding an impress upon the national life and history as Peter the Great left upon Russian society and Russian history. He planted throughout his vast empire the seeds of Western civilization, and by his giant strength lifted the great nation which destiny had placed in his hands out of Asiatic barbarism into the society of the European peoples.

394. Reign of Catherine the Great (1762-1796); the Partition of Poland. — From the death of Peter on to the close of the eighteenth century the Russian throne was held, the greater part of the time, by women, the most noted of whom was Catherine II, the Great, who was one of the most distinguished representatives of the so-called Enlightened Despots (sec. 329). But while a woman of great genius, she had most serious faults of character, being incredibly profligate and unscrupulous.

² After spending five years among the Turks, during which time he acted in a manner which abundantly justified his title of the "Madman of the North," Charles returned to Sweden. Soon after his return he was killed in battle. At the time of his death Charles was only thirty-six years of age. Perhaps we can understand him best by regarding him, as his biographer Voltaire suggests, as an old Norse sea king born ten centuries after his time. He was indeed "the last of the Vikings."

Carrying out ably the policy of Peter the Great, Catherine extended vastly the limits of Russian dominion and opened the country even more thoroughly than he had done to the entrance of Western influences. Aside from internal reforms, one of the most noteworthy matters of Catherine's reign was her participation in the dismemberment of Poland, the partition of which state she planned in connection with Frederick the Great of Prussia and Maria Theresa of Austria. On the first division, which was made in 1772, the royal robbers each took a portion of the spoils.⁸

It is difficult to apportion the blame among the participants in this transaction. Maria Theresa seems to have been the only one connected with the iniquitous business who had any scruples of conscience respecting the act. She justly



FIG. 42. — CATHERINE II OF RUSSIA. (After a portrait by *Rosselin*)

characterized the proposed partition as downright robbery, for a long time stood out against it, and yielded at last and took her

⁸ The Polish constitution was a survival of the age of mediæval feudal anarchy. In the struggle here between the royal power and the feudal nobility the aristocracy had triumphed, and had reduced the kingly authority to the mere shadow of elective kingship. But it must be added that this anarchical state of the kingdom cannot be pleaded by the dismemberers of Poland in extenuation of their crime, for they in every possible way prevented all schemes of reform and fostered the anarchy because it served their interests and furthered their plans to do so. Besides, an admirable new constitution was drawn up for Poland in 1791, which would have made it a strong state had a chance been allowed.

portion only when she realized that she was powerless to prevent the others from carrying out the policy of dismemberment.

In 1793 a second partition was made, this time between Russia and Prussia; and then in 1795, after the suppression of a determined revolt of the Poles under the lead of the patriot Kosciuszko, a third and final division among the three powers completed the dismemberment of the unhappy state and erased its name from the map of Europe. This was the first instance in two hundred years of the destruction of a sovereign Christian state by sister states. Unfortunately the pages of the history of the following century were to be stained with the record of many similar acts of international brigandage, yet by none quite as wicked or as far-reaching in its regrettable consequences as was this assassination of Poland.

The territory gained by Russia in the dismemberment of Poland brought her western frontier close alongside the civilization of Central Europe. In Catherine's phrase, Poland had become her "door mat," upon which she stepped when visiting the West.

By the close of Catherine's reign Russia was one of the foremost powers of Europe, and was henceforward to have a voice in all matters of general European concern. She was destined to play an important part in the Napoleonic Wars and in the great struggle between the people and their despotic rulers, — a struggle already inaugurated on the Continent by the Revolutionists in France.

Selections from the Sources. — ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, pp. 301-312.

Secondary Works. — RAMBAUD, A., *History of Russia*, 3 vols. This is the best comprehensive history of Russia available in English. SCHUYLER, E., *Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia*; the best biography of the great Tsar. For a shorter, delightfully written life, see MOTLEY, J., *Peter the Great*. MORFILL, W. R., *Story of Russia*, chaps. v-ix, and *Story of Poland*, chap. xi; the last for the Partition of Poland. BAIN, R. N., *Charles XII*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Geography of the Russian Empire. 2. Ivan the Terrible. 3. Peter's boyhood. 4. The founding of St. Petersburg. 5. Peter and his son and heir, Alexis.

CHAPTER XXX

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA: FREDERICK THE GREAT

(1740-1786)

395. The Beginnings of Prussia. — The foundation of the Prussian kingdom was laid in the beginning of the seventeenth century (in 1611) by the union of two small states south of the Baltic, one in Germany and one in Poland. These were the Electorate of Brandenburg and the Duchy of Prussia (sec. 115). Brandenburg had been gradually growing into prominence since the tenth century. Its ruler at this time was a prince of the noted House of Hohenzollern, and was one of the seven princes to whom belonged the right of electing the Emperor.

396. The Great Elector Frederick William (1640-1688). — Just before the close of the Thirty Years' War a strong man — Frederick William, better known as the "Great Elector" — came to the throne of the dual state. At the Peace of Westphalia he secured new territory, which greatly enhanced his power and prominence among the German princes.

The Great Elector ruled for nearly half a century, and left to his successor a strongly centralized authority. He was one of the most ideal representatives of the principle of absolute monarchy then so dominant. Like all absolute rulers, he placed his faith in soldiers, and laid the basis of the military power of Prussia by the creation of a standing army.

397. The Elector of Brandenburg acquires the Title of King. — Elector Frederick III (1688-1713), son of the Great Elector, was ambitious for the title of King, a dignity that the weight and influence won for the Prussian state by his father fairly justified him in seeking. He saw about him other princes less powerful than himself enjoying this dignity, and he too "would be a king and wear a crown." There were certain jealousies to be overcome, but finally it was arranged that he might assume the new

title and dignity in the *Duchy of Prussia*, which, unlike Brandenburg, was not included in the Empire. Accordingly, early in the year 1701, Frederick, amidst imposing ceremonies, was crowned and hailed as King at Königsberg. Hitherto he had been Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia; now he was Elector of Brandenburg and King of Prussia.



FIG. 43. — FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA. (From a photograph of the statue presented to the United States by Emperor William II, and unveiled at Washington, Nov. 19, 1904)

Thus was a new king born among the kings of Europe. The event is a landmark in German, and even in European, history. The cue of German history from this on is the growth of the power of the Prussian kings and their steady advance to imperial honors and to the control of the affairs of the German race.

398. Frederick William I (1713-1740). — The son and successor of the first Prussian king, known as Frederick William I, was a most extraordinary character. He was a strong, violent, brutal man, full of the strangest freaks. He had a mania for

big soldiers. With infinite expense and trouble he gathered a regiment of the tallest men he could find, who were known as the "Potsdam Giants." Not only were the Goliaths of his own dominions impressed into the service, but tall men in all parts of Europe were coaxed and hired to join the regiment. No present was so acceptable to Frederick William as a tall grenadier.

Rough, brutal tyrant though he was, Frederick William was an able ruler. He did much to consolidate the power of Prussia, and at his death left to his successor a considerably extended dominion and a splendidly drilled army of eighty thousand men.

399. Accession of Frederick the Great (1740).— Frederick William was followed by his son Frederick II, to whom the world has agreed to give the title of Great. He was one of the few kings of whom it can be said that they were kings by right of genius as well as by right of birth. Around his name gather events of world-wide interest for forty-six years just preceding the French Revolution.

Frederick had a genius for war, and his father had prepared to his hand one of the most efficient instruments of that art since the time of the Roman legions. The two great wars in which Frederick was engaged, and which raised Prussia to the first rank among the military powers of Europe, were the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War.

400. War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748).— The very year that Frederick II ascended the Prussian throne the last of the direct male line of the Hapsburgs, the Emperor Charles VI, died. Now not long before his death Charles had bound all the leading powers of Europe to a sort of agreement called the Pragmatic Sanction, by the terms of which, in case he should leave no son, all his hereditary dominions should descend to his elder daughter, Maria Theresa. But no sooner was Charles dead than a number of princes each laid claim to all or to portions of the Hapsburg inheritance. Before any of these claimants, however, had begun hostilities, Frederick, — whose father had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, — without any declaration of war, marched his army into Silesia and took forcible possession of that country. Frederick's act was an act of pure brigandage. He himself frankly tells posterity that the mixed motives under which he acted were a desire to augment his dominions, to render himself and Prussia respected in Europe, and to "acquire fame."

Almost all Europe was soon in arms. England, the Protestant Netherlands, and eventually Russia were drawn into the war as

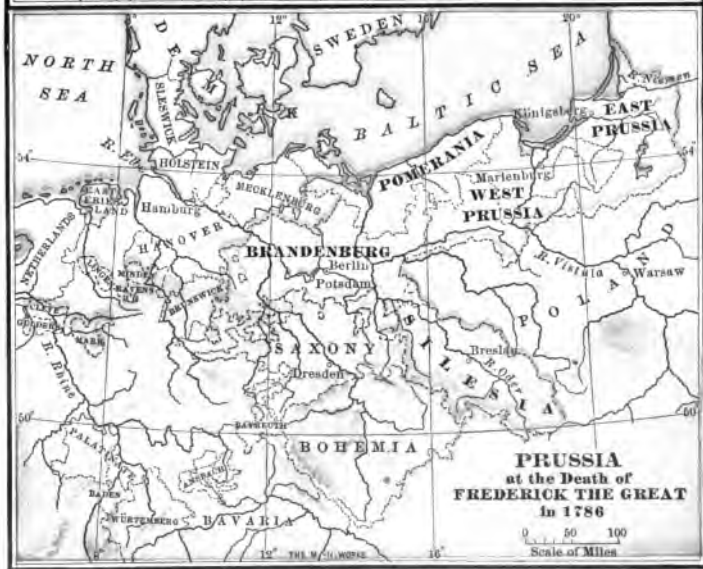
allies of Maria Theresa. The theater of the struggle came to embrace India and the French and English colonies in the New World. Macaulay's well-known words picture the world-wide range of the conflagration which Frederick's act had kindled: "In order that he might rob a neighbor," he says, "whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America."

The war went on until 1748, when it was closed by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Carlyle's summing up of the provisions of the various treaties of this peace can be easily remembered, and is not misleading as to the essentials: "To Frederick, Silesia; as to the rest, wholly as they were."

401. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763). — During the eight years of peace which now followed, Maria Theresa was busy forming a league of the chief European powers against the unscrupulous despoiler of her dominions. Russia, Sweden, many of the states of the Germanic body, and France all ultimately entered into an alliance with the queen. Frederick could at first find no ally save England, — towards the close of the war Russia came for a short time to his side, — so that he was left almost alone to fight the armies of half the Continent. Throughout the struggle Prussia was scarcely more than a "Spartan camp."

The long war is known in European history as the Seven Years' War. At the very outset it became mixed with what in American history is called the French and Indian War. For a time fortune was on Frederick's side. In the celebrated battles of Rossbach, Leuthen, and Zorndorf he defeated successively the French, the Austrians, and the Russians, and startled all Europe into an acknowledgment of the fact that the armies of Prussia had at their head one of the greatest commanders of the world. His name became everywhere a household word, and everybody coupled with it the admiring epithet of Great.

But fortune finally deserted Frederick. In sustaining the unequal contest his dominions became drained of men, and inevitable ruin seemed to impend over his throne and kingdom. But just at this time a change by death in the government of Russia



put a new face upon affairs. In 1762 Empress Elizabeth of that country died, and Peter III, an ardent admirer of Frederick, came to the throne, and immediately transferred the armies of Russia from the side of the allies to that of Prussia. The alliance lasted only a few months, Peter being deposed and murdered by his wife, who now came to the throne as Catherine II. She adopted a neutral policy and recalled her armies; but the temporary alliance had given Frederick a decisive advantage, and the year following the defection of Russia, England and France were glad to give over the struggle and sign the Peace of Paris (1763). Shortly after this another peace (the Treaty of Hubertsburg) was arranged between Austria and Prussia, and one of the most terrible wars that had ever disturbed Europe was over. Silesia was left in the hands of Frederick.

The Seven Years' War was one of the decisive combats of history. Besides the Anglo-French question in India (sec. 409), it settled two questions of vast reach and significance. First, it settled, or at least put in the way of final settlement, the Austro-Prussian question,—the question as to whether Austria or Prussia should be leader in Germany. It made Prussia the equal of Austria and foreshadowed her ascendancy.

Second, it settled the Anglo-French question in America, a question like the Austro-Prussian question in Europe. It decided that North America should belong to the Protestant Anglo-Saxon, and not to the Catholic Latin, race.

402. Frederick as an Enlightened Despot. — In all matters concerning foreign states, expediency was Frederick's only guide; he did whatever he thought would aggrandize Prussia and glorify himself, without any regard to truth, honesty, or honor.¹ But for his guidance in his relations to his own people he had an admirable moral code. Duty was his watchword here. So just and exalted was his conception of his kingly office, and so worthy the use he made of it, that he has been assigned a first place among the Enlightened Despots of the eighteenth century. Professor Morse Stephens illustrates the difference between the

¹ For Frederick's part in the partition of Poland, see sec. 394.

despotism of Louis XIV and that of Frederick by thus setting in contrast their respective maxims: "Louis said, 'I am the State'; Frederick said, 'I am the first servant of the State.'"

During the intervals of peace between his great wars, and for the half of his reign which followed the Peace of Hubertsburg, Frederick did indeed labor untiringly to develop the resources of his dominions and to promote the material welfare of his people. He dug canals, constructed roads, drained marshes, encouraged agriculture and manufactures, and improved in every possible way the administration of the government.

But Frederick's attention was not wholly engrossed with looking after the material well-being of his subjects. He was a philosopher and believed himself to be a poet, and usually spent several hours each day in philosophical and literary pursuits. It has been said of him that "he divided with Voltaire the intellectual monarchy of the eighteenth century." He gathered about him a company selected from among the most distinguished authors, scientists, and philosophers of the age, among whom was his "co-sovereign" Voltaire, whom Frederick coaxed to Berlin to add brilliancy to his court, and to criticise and correct his verses. Frederick felt very proud — for a time — of this acquisition, and rejoiced that to his other titles he could now add that of "the Possessor of Voltaire." But it was an ill-assorted friendship; the two "sovereigns" soon quarreled, and Voltaire was dismissed from court in disgrace.

It was on the eve of the French Revolution that Frederick died, — in 1786. Carlyle calls him "the last of the kings." He was of course not the last in name, but there was none after him as great as he. Only three years after he had been laid in the tomb broke out the revolution which closed the Age of the Kings and ushered in the Age of the People.

403. Summary: Prussia made a New Center of German Crystallization. — This chapter may be summarized in this way. The all-important result of Frederick the Great's strong reign was the making of Prussia the equal of Austria, and thereby the laying of the basis of future German unity. Hitherto Germany had been

trying unsuccessfully to concentrate about Austria ; now there was a new center of crystallization, — one which was destined to draw to itself the Protestant elements of German nationality.

The internal history of Germany from Frederick's reign on, if we leave out of consideration the period of Napoleon's domination, is very largely the story of the rivalry of these two powers, resulting in the final triumph of Prussia and the unification of Germany under her leadership, Austria with the mixed races under her rule being pushed out as entitled to no part in the affairs of the German fatherland. This story we shall tell in a later chapter.

Selections from the Sources. — *Memoirs of Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina* (Margravine of Baireuth, sister of Frederick the Great). These memoirs form one of the most graphic and piquant autobiographies ever written. They hold striking portraits of the author's savage father, Frederick William I, of her brother, to whom she was devotedly attached, and of many other distinguished contemporaries. But Wilhelmina's lively imagination and her mischievous if not malicious spirit caused her to overcolor and to exaggerate. Consequently the numerous portraits which she delights in sketching, while always interesting and often amusing, are not to be taken too seriously. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, pp. 315-328.

Secondary Works. — TUTTLE, H., *History of Prussia*, 4 vols. This work was unhappily interrupted at the year 1757 by the death of the author. It is the best history in English of the period covered. REDDAWAY, W. F., *Frederick the Great and the Rise of Prussia*. CARLYLE, T., *History of Frederick the Second*, 5 vols. This is one of Carlyle's masterpieces. Like his *French Revolution*, it will be best appreciated if read after some acquaintance with its subject has been gained from other sources. It deals almost exclusively with Frederick's twenty-three years of war and utterly neglects or minimizes the twenty-three of his reign which were years of peace. HASSALL, A., *The Balance of Power, 1715-1789*, chaps. vi-ix. LONGMAN, F. W., *Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War*. BRIGHT, J. F., *Maria Theresa*. MACAULAY, T. B., *Essay on Frederick the Great*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Teutonic Knights and the beginnings of Prussia. 2. Character of the father of Frederick the Great. 3. The Regiment of Giants. 4. The Empress-Queen Maria Theresa. 5. Frederick the Great and Voltaire. 6. Frederick the Great as an enlightened despot.

CHAPTER XXXI

ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I. THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE (1702-1714)

404. The Formula for Eighteenth-Century English History. — "The expansion of England in the New World and in Asia," says Professor Seeley, "is the formula which sums up for England the history of the eighteenth century."

This expansion movement was simply the continuation of a trade and commercial development which had begun in the sixteenth century, and which had shaped large sections of the history of England by bringing her into sharp rivalry first with Spain and then with the Dutch Netherlands. Before the close of the seventeenth century England had practically triumphed over both these commercial rivals. Her great and dangerous rival in the eighteenth century was France. "The whole period," says Seeley, referring to the period between 1688 and 1815, "stands out as an age of gigantic rivalry between England and France, a kind of second Hundred Years' War."

To indicate from the viewpoint of English history the chief episodes in this great struggle between the two rivals for commercial and colonial supremacy will be our chief aim in the present chapter. We shall, however, in order to render more complete our sketch of this century of English history, touch upon some other matters of special interest, though these be connected in no direct manner with the dominant movement of the period.

405. War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). — The War of the Spanish Succession covered the whole of the reign of Queen Anne. Respecting the causes and results of this war, and of England's part in it, we have already spoken in connection with the reign of Louis XIV (sec. 339). Of what was there said

we need here recall only the enumeration of the territorial gains which the war brought to England; namely, Gibraltar and the island of Minorca in the Old World, and Nova Scotia together with a clear title to Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay Territory in the New.

Thus as results of the first war of the eighteenth century England had got practical control of the Mediterranean, had made a beginning of wresting from France her possessions in the New World, and had gained mastery of the seas. "Before the war," says Mahan, "England was one of the sea powers; after it she was *the* sea power, without any second."

406. Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland (1707). — The most noteworthy matter in the domestic history of England during the reign of Queen Anne was the union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland. At this time England, dealing with Scotland as though it were a foreign state, shut out the Scotch traders not only from the English colonies but also from the English home market.

The feeling in Scotland against England became intense, and there were threats of breaking the dynastic ties which united the two countries. The English government, realizing the danger which lurked in the situation, — for the national sentiment in Scotland was still strong, — at last met the Scots in a spirit of reasonable compromise. It was agreed that the Parliaments of the two countries should be united, that perfect free trade should be established between them, and that all the English colonies should be open to Scotch traders. On this basis was brought about the union of the two realms into a single kingdom under the name of Great Britain (1707). From this time forward the two countries were represented by one Parliament sitting at Westminster.

The union was advantageous to both countries; for it was a union not simply of hands but of hearts. As to Scotland, her entrance into England's home and colonial markets resulted in a wonderful expansion of her energies and resources. Ten years after the union the first Scotch vessel intended for the transatlantic

trade was launched on the Clyde. The Clyde to-day is one of the greatest centers of the shipbuilding industry, and Glasgow is one of the largest and most important seaports of the world.

II. ENGLAND UNDER THE EARLIER HANOVERIANS¹

407. The Sovereign's Loss of Political Influence; the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. — The first Hanoverian king, George I (1714–1727), was utterly ignorant of the language and the affairs of the people over whom he had been called to rule. On this account he was obliged to intrust to his ministers the practical administration of the government. The same was true in the case of George II. George III, having been born and educated in England, regained some of the old influence of former kings. But he was the last English sovereign who had any large personal influence in shaping governmental policies.

The power and patronage lost by the crown passed into the hands of the chief minister, popularly called the Prime Minister, or Premier, whose tenure of office was dependent not upon the good will of the sovereign but upon the support of the House of Commons. This transfer of power was not made all at once, but by the middle of the eighteenth century it was practically completed, although this fact was not always gracefully and promptly recognized by the crown. In the English government of to-day the Prime Minister is the actual and fully acknowledged executive. The king remains the titular sovereign, indeed, but all real power and patronage are in the hands of the Premier.

The first English Prime Minister in the modern sense was Sir Robert Walpole. He was at the head of the government, as the leader of the Whig party, for about twenty-one years (1721–1742).²

¹ The sovereigns of the House of Hanover are George I (1714–1727), George II (1727–1760), George III (1760–1820), George IV (1820–1830), William IV (1830–1837), Victoria (1837–1901), and Edward VII (1901–).

² To him has been attributed the cynical saying, "Every man has his price." But he did not utter this "famous slander on mankind." What he actually did say was, "All these men have their price,"—referring to a group of his opponents. See Morley, *Walpole*, p. 127; and Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i, p. 399.

It was during the administration of Walpole that what is known as the Cabinet assumed substantially the form which it has at the present time. This body is practically a committee composed of members of Parliament, headed by the Prime Minister, and dependent for its existence upon the will of the House of Commons. The Premier and his colleagues stand and fall together. When the Cabinet can no longer command a majority in the Commons, its members resign, and a new Prime Minister, appointed nominally by the sovereign, but really by the party in control of the House of Commons, forms a new Cabinet.³

408. The Religious Revival; the Rise of Methodism. — It will be well for us here to turn aside from the political affairs of England and cast a glance upon the religious life of the time. In its spiritual and moral life the England of the earlier Hanoverians was the England of the restored Stuarts. Among the higher classes there was widespread infidelity; religion was a matter of jest and open scoff. The Church was dead; the higher clergy were neglectful of their duties. The lower classes were stolid, callous, and brutal. Drunkenness was almost universal among high and low. The nation was immersed in material pursuits, and was without thought or care for things ideal and spiritual.

Such a state of things in society as this has never failed to awaken in select souls a vehement protest. And it was so now. At Oxford, about the year 1730, a number of earnest young men, among whom we find John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield, formed a little society, the object of which was mutual helpfulness in true Christian living. From their strict and methodical manner of life they were derisively nicknamed "Methodists."

This Oxford movement was the starting point of a remarkable religious revival. John Wesley was the organizer, Whitefield the orator, and Charles Wesley the poet of the movement.⁴ They and their helpers reached the neglected masses through open-air

³ The Cabinet is an essential feature of all modern self-governing states which have constitutions copied after the parliamentary system developed by the English.

⁴ Charles Wesley wrote over six thousand hymns, many of which are still favorites in the hymnals of to-day.

meetings. They preached in the fields, at the street corners, beneath the trees, at the great mining camps. The effects of their fervid exhortations were often as startling as were those of the appeals of the preachers of the Crusades.

The leaders of the revival at first had no thought of establishing a Church distinct from the Anglican, but simply aimed at forming within the Established Church a society of earnest, devout workers, somewhat like that of the Christian Endeavor societies in our present churches. They were finally constrained, however, by petty persecution to go out from the established organization and form a Church of their own.

The revival, like the Puritan movement of the seventeenth century, left a deep impress upon the life of England. It is due largely to this movement that in true religious feeling, in social purity, in moral earnestness, in humanitarian sentiment, the England of to-day is separated by such a gulf from the England of the first two Georges.

409. The Seven Years' War⁵ (1756-1763).—Just after the middle of the century there broke out between the French and the English colonists in America the so-called French and Indian War, which became blended with what in Europe is known as the Seven Years' War (sec. 401). At first the war went disastrously against the English, — Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne, upon the march to which he suffered his memorable defeat in the wilderness, being but one of several ill-starred English undertakings. In the Old World Minorca had been lost, and with it virtually the control of the Mediterranean. Never were Englishmen cast into deeper despair. Never had they so completely lost faith in themselves. The Earl of Chesterfield wrote: "We are undone both at home and abroad. . . . We are no longer a nation."

The gloom was at its deepest when the elder William Pitt (later Earl of Chatham), known as "the Great Commoner," came to the head of affairs in England. Pitt was one of the greatest men the English race has ever produced. Frederick the Great

⁵ For the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), see sec. 400.

expressed his estimate of him in these words: "England has at last brought forth a man." Pitt exercised the full authority of Prime Minister—though he was not the nominal head of the ministry—from 1757 to 1761. These were great years in English history. It was like a return of Cromwell's rule.

The turning point in the war, so far as America was concerned, was the great victory gained by the English under the youthful Major General Wolfe over the French under Montcalm on the Heights of Quebec (1759). The victory gave England Quebec, the key to the situation in the New World.



FIG. 44. — WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM
(After a portrait by *R. Brompton*)

In India also victory was declaring for the English in their struggle there with the French and their native allies. Two years before the battle of Quebec, Colonel Robert Clive, an officer in the employ of the English East India Company, with a force insignificant in numbers, in the memorable battle of Plassey (1757) had put to flight a native army of sixty thousand foot and horse, and had thus virtually laid, in the northeastern region of the peninsula, the basis of England's great Indian Empire.⁶

⁶ The prelude to this battle was a terrible crime committed by Siraj-ud-Daula, viceroy of Bengal and other provinces. Moved by anger at the refusal of the English official to surrender certain fugitives, and urged on by French agents, the viceroy

The end came in 1763 with the Peace of Paris. France ceded to England Canada and all her possessions in North America east of the Mississippi River, save New Orleans and a little adjoining land (which, along with the French territory west of the Mississippi, had already been given to Spain), and two little islands in the neighborhood of Newfoundland, which she was allowed to retain to dry fish on. She also withdrew from India as a political rival of England. England's supremacy in the colonial world and her mastery of the sea were now firmly established. This position, notwithstanding severe losses of which we shall speak immediately, she has maintained up to the present day.

410. The American Revolution (1775-1783).—The French and Indian War was the prelude to the War of American Independence. The overthrow of the French power in America made the English colonists less dependent than hitherto upon the mother country, since this removed their only dangerous rival and enemy on the continent. Clear-sighted statesmen had predicted that when the colonists no longer needed England's help against the French they would sever the bonds uniting them to the home land, if at any time these bonds chafed them.

And very soon the bonds did chafe. A majority in Parliament, thinking that the colonists should help pay the expenses of colonial defense, insisted upon taxing them. The colonists maintained that they could be justly taxed only through their own legislative assemblies. The British government refusing to acknowledge this principle, the colonists took up arms in defense of those rights and liberties which their fathers had won with so hard a struggle from English kings on English soil.

France seized the opportunity presented by the war to avenge herself upon England for the loss of Canada, and gave aid to the colonists. Spain and Holland also were both drawn into the

attacked the English fort and factory at Calcutta, and having secured one hundred and forty-six prisoners, thrust them into a contracted guardroom which was provided with only two small grated windows,—what in the story of India is known as “the Black Hole of Calcutta.” During the course of a sultry night all but twenty-three of the unfortunate prisoners died of suffocation. It was in response to the cry which arose for vengeance that Robert Clive was sent from Madras to succor Bengal.

struggle, fighting against their old-time rival and foe. The war was ended by the Peace of Paris (1783). England acknowledged the independence of the thirteen colonies, — and a Greater England began its separate career in the New World.

411. Legislative Independence of Ireland (1782). — While the war in America was going on, the Irish, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the English government, demanded legislative independence. Since the Norman period Ireland had had a Parliament of her own, but it was at this time subordinate to the English Parliament, which asserted the right to bind Ireland by its laws. This the Anglo-Irish patriots strenuously resisted and drew up a Declaration of Rights wherein they demanded the legislative independence of Ireland. Fear of a revolt led England to grant the demands of the patriots and acknowledge the independence of the Irish Parliament (1782).

412. The Abolition of the Slave Trade. — Intimately connected with the great religious revival led by the Wesleys and Whitefield were certain philanthropic movements which hold a prominent place in the history of the moral and social life not only of England but of humanity. The most noteworthy of these was that resulting in the abolition of the African slave trade.

In the eighteenth century England was the chief slave-trading nation in the world. There was at that time little or no moral disapproval of this iniquitous traffic. But one effect of the religious revival was the calling into existence of much genuine philanthropic feeling. This sentiment expressed itself in a movement for the abolition of the inhuman trade.

The leaders of the movement were Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846) and William Wilberforce (1759–1833). Finally, in 1807, after twenty years of agitation, a law was passed abolishing the trade.⁷ This signaled as great a moral victory as ever was won in the English Parliament, for it was the aroused moral sentiment

⁷ Denmark had abolished the traffic in 1802. In the United States the importation of slaves was illegal after 1808. Before 1820 most civilized states had placed the trade under the ban.

of the nation which was the main force that carried the reform measure through the Houses.⁸

413. The Industrial Revolution. — We turn now from the political, religious, and moral realms to the industrial domain. In this sphere of English life the latter part of the eighteenth century witnessed a wonderful revolution. In order to get the right point of view here, it is necessary that we first note the remarkable fact that though civilization during historic times had made great advances on many lines and in many domains, still in the industrial realm it had remained almost stationary from the dawn of history. At the middle of the eighteenth century all the industrial arts were being carried on in practically the same way that they were followed six or seven thousand years before in ancient Egypt and Babylonia.

Suddenly all this was changed by a few inventions. About 1767 Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny. From the beginning of history, indeed from a period lost in the obscurity of prehistoric times, all the thread used in weaving had been made by twisting each thread separately. The spinning jenny, when perfected, with a single attendant twisted hundreds of threads at once. Within twenty years from the time of this invention there were between four and five million spindles in use in England.

It was now possible to produce thread in unlimited quantities. The next thing needed was improved machinery for weaving it into cloth. This was soon provided by Cartwright's power loom (1785). The next requisite was motive power to run the new machinery. At just this time James Watt brought out his improvement of the steam engine (1785). In its ruder form it had been used in the mines; now it was introduced into the factories.

The primary forces of the great industrial revolution — the spinning jenny, the power loom, and the steam engine — were now at work. The application of the steam engine to transportation purposes gave the world the steam railroad and the steamship.

⁸ Another important humanitarian movement of the century was that of prison reform. This was effected chiefly through the labors of a single person, the philanthropist John Howard (1726-1790), who devoted his life to effecting a reform in prison conditions and discipline.

These inventions in the industrial realm mark an epoch in the history of civilization. We have to go back to prehistoric times to find in this domain any inventions or discoveries like them in their import for human progress. There is nothing between Menes in Egypt and George III in England with which to compare them. The discovery of fire, the invention of metal tools, and the domestication of animals and plants (secs. 7-9), — these inventions and achievements of prehistoric man are alone worthy, in their effects upon human society, of being placed alongside them.

414. Import to England of the Industrial Revolution. — The great industrial revolution exerted a determining influence upon the course and issue of the French Revolution and of the Napoleonic Wars which grew out of it. It armed England, through the wealth it created, for the great fight, and thus enabled her to play the important part she did in that period of titanic struggle. "It is our improved steam engine," says Lord Jeffrey in his eulogy of Watt (written in 1819), "which has fought the battles of Europe and exalted and sustained through the late tremendous contest the political greatness of our land." It was the steam engine which created the wealth which England used so lavishly in carrying on the fight against Napoleon, and which did more perhaps than any other force in giving direction to the course of events during the years of his domination.

415. Conclusion. — With the French Revolution we reach a period in which English history must be regarded from the viewpoint of France. Indeed, for the space of half a generation after the rise of Napoleon to power, all European history becomes largely biographical and centers about that unique personality. Consequently we shall drop the story of English history at this point and let it blend with the story of the Revolution and that of the Napoleonic Empire.

All that we need here notice is that the Napoleonic Wars, in their Anglo-French phase, were essentially a continuation — and the end — of the second Hundred Years' War between England and France. Napoleon, having seized supreme power in France, endeavored to destroy England's commercial supremacy and to

regain for France that position in the colonial world from which she had been thrust by England. But this tremendous struggle, like all the others in which England had engaged with her ancient foe, — save the one in which she lost her American colonies, — only resulted, as we shall see later, in bringing into her hands additional colonial possessions, and in placing her naval power and commercial supremacy on a firmer basis than ever before.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The “Assiento” and the slave trade in the seventeenth century. 2. The Scotch project of a Panama colony. 3. The South Sea Bubble. 4. The abolition of the slave trade. 5. John Howard and prison reform.

II. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE NAPOLEONIC ERA (1789-1815)

CHAPTER XXXII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789-1799)

I. CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION; THE STATES- GENERAL OF 1789

416. Introductory. — The French Revolution was the revolt of the French people against royal despotism and class privilege. "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" was the motto of the Revolution. In the name of these principles great crimes were indeed committed; but these excesses of the Revolution are not to be confounded with its true spirit and aims. The French people in 1789 contended for substantially the same principles that the English people defended in 1642 and 1688, and that the American colonists maintained in 1776. It is only as we view them in this light that we can feel a sympathetic interest in the men and events of this tumultuous period of French history.

417. Causes of the Revolution. — Chief among the causes of the French Revolution were the abuses and extravagances of the Bourbon monarchy, the unjust privileges enjoyed by the nobility and the higher clergy, the wretched condition of the poorer classes of the people, and the revolutionary character and spirit of French philosophy and literature. To these must be added, as a proximate cause, the influence of the American Revolution. We will speak briefly of these several matters.

418. The Bourbon Monarchy. — We simply repeat what we have already learned when we say that the authority of the French

crown under the Bourbons had become unbearably despotic and oppressive. The life and property of every person in France were at the arbitrary disposal of the king. Persons were thrown into prison without even knowing the offense for which they were arrested. The taxes were imposed by the authority of the king alone. They struck the poor rather than the rich, and, in consequence of a miserable and corrupt system of collection, not more than one half or two thirds of the money wrung from the taxpayers ever reached the royal treasury. The public money thus gathered was squandered in maintaining a court the scandalous extravagances and debaucheries of which would shame a Turkish sultan.

419. The Nobility. — The French nobility on the eve of the Revolution numbered probably between twenty and thirty thousand families. Although owning one fifth of the soil of France and exercising feudal rights over much of the land belonging to peasant proprietors, still these nobles paid scarcely any taxes.

The higher nobility were chiefly the pensioners of the king, the ornaments of his court, living in riotous luxury at Paris and Versailles. Stripped of their ancient power, they still retained all the old pride and arrogance of their order, and clung tenaciously to all their feudal privileges and exemptions.

420. The Clergy. — The higher clergy formed a decayed feudal hierarchy. A third of the lands of France was in their hands, and this immense property was almost wholly exempt from taxation. The bishops and abbots were usually drawn from the ranks of the nobility, being attracted to the service of the Church rather by its enormous revenues and the social distinction conferred by its offices than by the inducements of piety. They owed their position to royal appointment, and commonly spent their princely incomes in luxurious life at court.

The lower clergy, made up in the main of humble and devoted parish priests, were drawn largely from the peasant class, and shared their poverty. Their salaries were mere pittance compared with the princely incomes enjoyed by the bishops and abbots. They were naturally in sympathy with the lower classes to which by

birth they belonged, and shared their feelings of dislike towards the great prelates.

421. **The Commons, or Third Estate.** — Below the two privileged orders stood the nonprivileged commons, known as the *Tiers État*, or Third Estate. This class embraced all the nation aside from the nobility and the clergy, — that is to say, the great bulk of the population. It numbered probably about twenty-five million souls. The order was divided into two chief classes, namely, the *bourgeoisie*, or middle class, and the peasantry.

The peasants constituted the great majority of the Third Estate. The condition of most of them could hardly have been worse. Especially vexatious were the old feudal regulations to which they were subjected in the cultivation of the soil. Thus they were forbidden to fence their fields for the protection of their crops, as the fences interfered with the lord's progress in the hunt; and they were even prohibited from cultivating their fields at certain seasons, as this disturbed the nesting partridges. Being kept in a state of abject poverty, a failure of their crops reduced the French tenants to absolute starvation. It was not an unusual thing to find women and children dead in the woods or along the roadways.

One who saw all this misery thus pictures the appearance of the peasantry: "One sees certain fierce animals, male and female, scattered through the fields; they are black, livid, and burned by the sun, and attached to the soil, which they dig up and stir with indomitable industry; they have what is like an articulate voice, and when they rise up on their feet they show a human face, — in truth they are human beings. They retire at night into dens, where they live on black bread and water and roots; they save other men the trouble of sowing and delving and harvesting, and hence deserve not to lack of this bread which they have sown."¹

It is true that during the eighteenth century the condition of perhaps the majority of the French peasants had been much improved, and that on the eve of the Revolution their state was

¹ La Bruyère, *Les Caractères*, "De l'Homme," § cxxviii.

much more tolerable than that of the peasantry in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Yet never had a more rebellious spirit stirred in the French peasantry than at just this time. And the reason of this was not because the system under which they lived was "more severe, but more odious" than ever before, — more odious because the peasant of 1789, being more intelligent, realized more keenly the wrongs he suffered, and knew better his rights as a man than did the ignorant, stolid peasant of the previous century.

422. The Revolutionary Spirit of French Philosophy. — French philosophy in the eighteenth century was skeptical and revolu-



FIG. 45. — VOLTAIRE. (From a statue by *Houdon*)

tionary. The names of the great writers Voltaire and Rousseau² suggest at once its tone and spirit. Voltaire (1694–1778) gave expression, forcible and striking, to what the people were vaguely thinking and feeling. He has been well called "the magician of the art of writing." He had a most marvelous faculty of condensing thought; putting whole philosophies in an epigram, he supplied the French people with proverbs for a century. His aim

was to make justice and reason dominant in human affairs. He disbelieved in revealed religion;³ he would have men follow simply their inner sense of what is right and reasonable. His writings stirred all Europe as well as all France, and did so much to prepare the minds and hearts of men for the Revolution that in one sense there was much truth in his

² Other names are Montesquieu (1689–1755), whose most important work is entitled *The Spirit of Laws*, and Diderot (1713–1784) and D'Alembert (1717–1783), who were the chief of the so-called Encyclopedists, the compilers of an immense work in twenty-eight volumes.

³ By some of Voltaire's disciples his doctrines were developed into atheism; but Voltaire himself was a deist, combating alike atheism and Christianity.

declaration, "I have accomplished more in my day than either Luther or Calvin."

Rousseau (1712-1778), like Voltaire, had neither faith nor hope in existing institutions. Society and government seemed to him contrivances designed by the strong for the enslavement of the weak: "Man was born free and is everywhere in chains" is the burden of his complaint. He would have men give up their artificial life in society and return to the simplicity of what he called "a state of nature." He declared that untutored tribes are happier than civilized men. He drew such an idyllic picture of the life of man in a state of nature that Voltaire, after reading his treatise thereon, wrote him that it filled him with a longing to go on all fours.

The tendency and effect of this skeptical philosophy was to create hatred and contempt for the institutions of both State and Church, and to foster discontent with the established order of things.

423. Influence of the American Revolution. — Not one of the least potent of the proximate causes of the French Revolution was the successful establishment of the American republic. The republican simplicity of the newborn state, contrasting so strongly with the extravagance and artificiality of the court at Versailles, elicited the unbounded admiration of the French people. In this young republic of the Western world they saw realized the Arcadia of their philosophy. It was no longer a dream. They themselves had helped to make it real. Here the rights of man had been recovered and vindicated. And now this liberty which the French people had helped the American colonists to secure, they were impatient to see France herself enjoy.

424. End of the Reign of Louis XV; "After us the Deluge." — The long-gathering tempest is now ready to break over France. Louis XV died in 1774. In the early part of his reign his subjects had affectionately called him "the Well-Beloved," but long before his death all their early love and admiration had been turned into hatred and contempt. Besides being despotically inclined, the king was indolent and scandalously profligate. During twenty

years of his reign, as we have already learned, he was wholly under the influence of the notorious Madame de Pompadour (sec. 344).

The inevitable issue of this orgy of folly and extravagance seems to have been clearly enough perceived by the chief actors in it, as is shown by that reckless phrase attributed to the king and his favorite, — "After us the Deluge." And after them the Deluge indeed did come. The near thunders of the approaching tempest could already be heard when Louis XV lay down to die.

425. The Accession of Louis XVI (1774); Financial Troubles; the Meeting of the Notables (1787). — Louis XV left the tottering throne to his grandson, Louis XVI, then only twenty years of age. He had recently been married to the beautiful and light-hearted Archduchess Marie Antoinette of Austria, daughter of the empress-queen Maria Theresa.

How to raise money was the urgent and anxious question with the government. France was on the verge of bankruptcy. The king called to his side successively Turgot, Necker, and other eminent statesmen as his ministers of finance; but their policies and remedies availed little or nothing. The traditions of the court and the heartless selfishness of the privileged classes rendered reform in taxation and efficient retrenchment impossible. The national debt grew constantly larger.

In 1787 the king summoned the Notables, a body composed chiefly of great lords and prelates, who had not been called to advise with the king since the year 1626. But miserable counselors were they all. Refusing to give up any of their feudal privileges, or to tax the property of their own orders that the enormous public burdens which were crushing the commons might be lightened, their coming together resulted in nothing.

426. The Calling of the States-General; the Elections; the Cahiers. — As a last resort it was resolved to summon the united wisdom of the nation, to call together the States-General, the almost-forgotten national assembly, composed of representatives of the three estates, — the nobility, the clergy, and the commons.

In December, 1788, the king by proclamation called upon the French people to elect deputies to this body, which had not met

to deliberate upon the affairs of France for a period of one hundred and seventy-five years. Divine-right royalty had seen no necessity hitherto of seeking counsel of the people.

In connection with the elections there had been made by the king's advisers a momentous decision, one which practically involved the fate of the monarchy. The commons had insisted upon being allowed double representation, that is, as many deputies as both the other orders, and they had been authorized to send up six hundred deputies, while the nobility and the clergy were each to have only three hundred representatives.

The electors had been instructed to draw up statements of grievances and suggestions of reform for the information and guidance of the States-General. These documents, which are known as *cahiers*, form a valuable record of the France of 1789, — of the grievances of the people and of their ideas of reform. One demand common to them all is that the nation through its representatives shall have part in the government. Those of the Third Estate call for the abolition of feudal rents and services, and for the equalization among the orders of the burdens of taxation. In a word, they were petitions for equality and justice.

427. The States-General changed into the National Assembly. — On the 5th of May, 1789, a memorable date, the deputies to the States-General met at Versailles. Thither the eyes of the nation were now turned in hope and expectancy. Surely if the redemption of France could be worked out by human wisdom it would now be effected. At the very outset a dispute arose between the privileged orders and the commons respecting the manner of voting. It had been the ancient custom of the body for each order to deliberate in its own hall, and for the vote upon all questions to be by orders.⁴ But the commons now demanded that this old custom should be ignored, and that the voting should be by individuals; for should the vote be taken by orders, then their double representation would be a mere mockery, and the

⁴ That is to say, the majority of the representatives of each order decided the vote for that order, and then two of these majority votes registered the decision of the whole body of deputies.

clergy and nobility by combining could always outvote them. For five weeks the quarrel kept everything in a deadlock.

Finally the commons took a decisive, revolutionary step. They declared themselves the National Assembly, and then invited the other two orders to join them in their deliberations, giving them to understand that if they did not choose to do so they should proceed to the consideration of public affairs without them.

King, nobles, and prelates were alarmed at the bold attitude assumed by the commons. The king, in helpless alarm, suspended the sitting of the rebellious deputies and guarded the door of their hall. But the commons, gathering in the tennis court, a great barnlike building, bound themselves by oath not to separate until they had framed a constitution for France.

Soon the commons were joined by a few of the nobility and a larger number of the deputies of the clergy. It looked as though the three orders were going to coalesce. The court party labored to prevent this. A royal sitting, or joint meeting of the three estates, was held. The king read a speech in which, assuming the tone of an English Stuart, he admonished the commons not to attack the privileges of the other orders, and then commanded the deputies of the three orders to retire to their separate halls. The clergy and the nobility obeyed. The commons kept their seats.

At this juncture the master of ceremonies somewhat pertly said to them, "You heard the king's command?" Thereupon Mirabeau, one of the leaders of the commons, a man of "Jupiter-like" mien and tone, turned upon the messenger with these memorable words: "Go, tell those who sent you that we are here by the command of the people, and here we shall stay until driven out at the point of the bayonet." The poor official was so frightened at the terrible Mirabeau that he straightway sought the door, withdrawing from the assembly, however, backwards, as he had been wont to do in retiring from the presence of the king. His instincts were right. He was indeed in the presence of the sovereign, — the new-born sovereign of France.

The triumph of the Third Estate was soon complete. Realizing that it was futile and dangerous longer to oppose the will of

the commons, the king ordered those of the nobles and clergy who had not yet joined them to do so, and they obeyed. The States-General thus became in reality the National Assembly.

II. THE NATIONAL OR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

(June 17, 1789–Sept. 30, 1791)

428. Prominent Men in the Assembly.—Lamartine declares that the National Assembly was “the most imposing body of men that ever represented not only France but the human race.” It was impressive not so much from the ability or genius of its individual members, though the picked men of France were here gathered, as through the tremendous interests it held in its hands. Yet there were in the Assembly a number of men whose names cannot be passed in silence.

Among the nobility was the patriotic Lafayette, who had won the admiration of his countrymen by splendid services rendered the struggling republic in the New World. His influence at this time was probably greater than that of any other man.



FIG. 46. — MIRABEAU. (After a painting by *L. Massard*)

Belonging by birth to the same order, but sitting now as a deputy of the commons, was Mirabeau, a large-headed, dissolute, unscrupulous man, an impetuous orator, the mouthpiece of the Revolution. But though violent in speech he was moderate in counsel. He wanted to right the wrongs of the people, yet without undermining the throne. He wanted reform but not revolution. He aspired to be a leader, but no one at first had confidence in him, such had been his past life. Arthur Young said of him, “His character is a dead weight upon him.” Yet, notwithstanding his lack of private virtues, Mirabeau’s qualities of leadership at length gained for him recognition, and he was at one time

president of the National Assembly. But his life of dissipation had undermined his constitution. He died in 1791, despairing of the future for France.

Still another eminent representative of the commons was Abbé Sieyès, a person of wonderful facility in framing constitutions. France will have much need of such talent, as we shall see. Sieyès had recently stirred all France by a remarkable pamphlet entitled *What is the Third Estate?* (*Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État?*) He answers, "Everything!" "What has it been hitherto?" "Nothing!" "What does it wish?" "To be something."

429. Origin of the Revolutionary Commune of Paris; the National Guards.—During all these weeks Paris was in a seething ferment. The municipal authorities showing themselves irresolute, the leading men of the different sections or wards of the city ousted them, and then, forming themselves into a sort of provisional city council, assumed the government of the capital. Thus came into existence the revolutionary Commune of Paris, a body whose power came to overshadow that of the National Assembly itself.

Under the direction of the self-constituted Commune the inhabitants of the capital now formed themselves into a sort of police force. Other cities throughout France imitated Paris and organized their militia. These hastily recruited popular bodies took the name of National Guards, and under that title were destined to act a most conspicuous part in the scenes of the Revolution.

430. Storming of the Bastille (July 14, 1789).—Thus all Paris was ready to burst into conflagration. The news of the dismissal by the king of Necker, a minister in whom the people had great confidence, kindled the inflammable mass. On the morning of July 14 a great mob assaulted the Bastille, the old state prison and, in the eyes of the people, the emblem of royal despotism. In a few hours the fortress was in the hands of the people. The curious crowds ransacked every corner of the grim old dungeon, liberating the seven prisoners they found in its gloomy cells. The governor and others of the defenders of the place were murdered, their heads placed at the end of pikes, and thus borne through the streets. The walls of the hated old prison were razed

to the ground. The key was sent by Lafayette to Washington "as a trophy of the spoils of despotism." In a letter accompanying the gift, Lafayette wrote: "That the principles of America opened the Bastille is not to be doubted, and therefore the key goes to the right place."⁵

The destruction by the Paris mob of the Bastille was the death knell not only of Bourbon despotism in France but of royal tyranny everywhere. The intelligence of the event was received with rejoicing in America and wherever the ideas and principles of self-government were entertained. When the news reached England, the great statesman Fox, perceiving its significance for liberty, exclaimed, "How much is this the greatest event that ever happened in the world, and how much the best!"

Louis XVI regarded the matter with different feelings. When news of the affair was carried to him at Versailles he exclaimed, "What, *Rebellion!*" "No, sire," was the response; "it is *Revolution.*" The great French Revolution had indeed begun.

431. The Abolition of Privileges (August 4, 1789).—As the news of the storming of the Bastille spread through France the peasantry in many districts, following the example set them by the capital, destroyed the local bastilles and sacked and burned the castles of the nobles. The main object of the peasants was to destroy the title deeds in the archives of the manor houses, since it was by virtue of these charters that the lords exercised so many rights over the lands of the peasants and exacted so many teasing and iniquitous tolls and dues. This terrorism caused the beginning of what is known as the emigration of the nobles, that is, their flight beyond the frontiers of France.

The storm without hastened matters within the National Assembly at Versailles. The privileged orders now realized that, to save themselves from the fury of the masses, they must give up those vexatious feudal privileges which were a main cause of the sufferings and the anger of the people. Rising in the tribune, two liberal-minded members of the nobility represented that they were willing to renounce all their feudal rights and exemptions.

⁵ The rusty relic may be seen to-day in a case at Mount Vernon.

A contagious enthusiasm was awakened by this act of patriotic generosity. The impulsiveness of the Gallic heart was never better illustrated. Nobles and priests, crowding to the tribune, strove with one another in generous rivalry to see who should make the greatest sacrifices in the surrender of rents, tolls, feudal dues, and gaming privileges. Thus in a single night much of the rubbish of the broken-down feudal system was cleared away.

432. The Declaration of the Rights of Man (August 26, 1789). — After the abolition of the feudal system the next work of the National Assembly was the drawing up of a Declaration of the Rights of Man. This was in imitation of what had been done by the American patriots.

The dominant notes of the Declaration were (1) the equality of men, — "Men are born and remain free and equal"; (2) the sovereignty of the people, — "All sovereignty resides essentially in the nation"; and (3) the impartial nature of law, — "Law is the expression of the general will . . . and should be the same for all."

433. Nationalization of Church Property (Nov. 2, 1789); **the Civil Constitution of the Clergy** (July 12, 1790). — Shortly after the promulgation of the Declaration of Rights, a Parisian mob fetched the king from Versailles to the capital. Their purpose in this was to hold him as a sort of hostage for the good conduct of the nobles and the foreign sovereigns while the new constitution was being prepared by the Assembly.

For two years following this there was a comparative lull in the storm of the Revolution. Meanwhile the National Assembly was making sweeping reforms both in State and Church. One of the most important of its measures and one far-reaching in its effects was the confiscation of the property of the Church. Altogether, property consisting largely of lands and worth it is estimated over a billion francs was by decree made the property of the nation.⁶

⁶ It being found impossible to sell at once and at fair prices so large an amount of real estate, the Assembly, using the nationalized lands as security, issued against them currency notes, called *assignats*. As almost always happens in such cases, inflation of the currency resulted. Fresh issues of notes were made until they became quite worthless, as in the case of the Continental notes issued by the Continental Congress in the American War of Independence.

The nationalization of the property of the Church rendered it necessary that the nation should make some provision for the support of the clergy. This was done a little later by a decree known as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which provided for the support of all ministers of religion by reasonable salaries paid by the nation. All the clergy, bishops, and parish priests alike were to be chosen by election, and all were to be required to take oath to support the new constitution.

Naturally this conversion of the Church in France into a State Church created a schism in the nation. Out of a hundred and thirty-four bishops only four would take the prescribed oath. From this time on a large section of the French clergy became the bitter enemies of the Revolution.

434. Flight and Arrest of the King (June 20, 1791).—The attempt of the king to make his way out of France and join the emigrant nobles now gave an entirely new turn to the course of the Revolution. Under cover of night the royal family in disguise left the Tuileries, and by post fled towards the frontier. When just a few hours more would have placed the fugitives in safety among friends, the Bourbon features of the king betrayed him, and the entire party was arrested and carried back to Paris.

The attempted flight of the royal family was a fatal blow to the monarchy. It deepened the growing distrust of the king. The people began to talk of a republic. The word was only whispered as yet; but it was not long before those who did not shout vociferously, "*Vive la République!*" were hurried to the guillotine.

435. The Clubs: Jacobins and Cordeliers.—In order to render intelligible the further course of the Revolution we must now speak of two clubs, or organizations, which came into prominence about this time, and which were destined to become more powerful than the Assembly itself, and to be the chief instruments in inaugurating the Reign of Terror. These were the societies of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers.⁷ The objects of these clubs were to watch

⁷ The Jacobins were so called from an old convent in which their first meetings were held; the Cordeliers were named after a Franciscan convent where they assembled.

for conspiracies of the Royalists and by constant agitation to keep alive the flame of the Revolution.

436. The New Constitution. — The work of the National Assembly was now drawing to a close. On the 14th of September, 1791, the new constitution framed by the body, which instrument made the government of France a constitutional monarchy, was solemnly ratified by the king. The National Assembly, having sat over two years, then adjourned. The first scene in the drama of the French Revolution was ended.

III. THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

(Oct. 1, 1791–Sept. 19, 1792)

437. The Membership of the Assembly ; the Constitutionals and the Girondins. — The new constitution provided for a national legislature to be called the Legislative Assembly. This body was made up of several groups or parties, of which we need here notice only the Constitutionals and the Girondins. The Constitutionals, as their name implies, supported the new constitution, being in favor of a limited monarchy. The Girondins, so called from the department (the Gironde) whence their most noted leaders came, wanted to establish in France a federal republic like that just set up in the New World.

438. Beginning of War with the Old Monarchies (April 20, 1792). — The kings of Europe were watching with the utmost concern the course of events in France. They regarded the cause of Louis XVI as their own. If the French people should be allowed to overturn the throne of their hereditary sovereign, who any longer would have respect for the divine right of kings?

The warlike preparations of Austria, which had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia, awakened the apprehensions of the Revolutionists, and led the Legislative Assembly to declare war against that power. A little later the allied armies of the Austrians and Prussians crossed the frontiers of France. Thus was taken the first step in a series of wars which

were destined to last nearly a quarter of a century, and in which France almost single-handed was to struggle against the leagued powers of Europe and to illustrate the miracles possible to enthusiasm and genius.

439. **The Massacre of the Swiss Guards** (August 10, 1792). — The allies at first gained easy victories over the ill-disciplined forces of the Legislative Assembly, and the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the Prussian army, advanced rapidly upon Paris. An insolent proclamation which this general now issued, wherein



FIG. 47. — THE LION OF LUCERNE. (From a photograph)

This celebrated sculpture commemorates the loyalty and faithfulness of the Swiss Guards who gave their lives in defense of the royal palace at Paris, August 10, 1792. See p. 312, n. 9.

he ordered the French nation to submit to their king, and threatened the Parisians with the destruction of their city should any harm be done the royal family, drove the French people frantic with indignation and rage.

The first outbreak of the popular fury occurred in Paris. The mob of the capital was swollen by the arrival of bands of picked men from other parts of France. From the south came the "six

hundred Marseillais who knew how to die." They brought with them "a better contingent than ten thousand pikemen," — the Marseillaise Hymn, the martial song of the Revolution.⁸

On the morning of the 10th of August the hordes of the city were mustered. The Palace of the Tuileries, defended by several hundred Swiss soldiers, the remnant of the royal guard, was assaulted. The royal family fled for safety to the hall of the Assembly near by. A terrible struggle followed in the corridors and upon the grand stairways of the palace. The Swiss stood "steadfast as the granite of their Alps." But they were overwhelmed at last, and all were killed, either in the building itself or in the adjoining courts and streets.⁹

440. The Massacre of September ("Jail Delivery").—The army of the allies hurried on towards the capital to avenge the slaughter of the royal guards and to rescue the king. Paris was all excitement. "We must stop the enemy," cried Danton, "by striking terror into the Royalists." To this end the most atrocious measures were now adopted. It was resolved that the Royalists confined in the jails of the capital should be killed. A hundred or more men acted as executioners, and to them the prisoners were handed over after a hasty examination before self-appointed judges. The number of victims of this terrible "September Massacre," as it is called, is estimated¹⁰ at from eight hundred to fourteen hundred. Europe had never before known such a "jail delivery." It was the greatest crime of the French Revolution.

441. Defeat of the Allies.—Meanwhile, in the open field, the fortunes of war inclined to the side of the Revolutionists. The French army in the north was successful in checking the advance

⁸ This famous war song was composed in 1792 by Rouget de l'Isle, a young French engineer.

⁹ The number of Swiss Guards slain was over seven hundred. Their fidelity and devotion are commemorated by one of the most impressive monuments in Europe, the so-called "Lion of Lucerne," at Lucerne in Switzerland. In a large recess in a cliff a dying lion, pierced by a lance, protects with its paw the Bourbon lilies. The wonderfully lifelike figure is cut out of the natural rock. The designer of the memorial was the celebrated Danish sculptor Thorwaldsen.

¹⁰ Former estimates are now known to have been exaggerated. See Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, vol. ii, p. 146.

of the allies, and finally at Valmy (Sept. 20, 1792) succeeded in inflicting upon them a decisive defeat, which caused their hasty retreat beyond the frontiers of France. The day of this victory the Legislative Assembly came to an end, and the same day the National Convention assembled.

IV. THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

(Sept. 20, 1792–Oct. 26, 1795)

442. Parties in the Convention.—The Convention, consisting of seven hundred and forty-nine deputies, among whom was the celebrated freethinker, Thomas Paine, embraced two active groups, the Girondins and the Mountainists, the latter being so named from the circumstance that they sat on the upper benches in the Assembly hall. There were no monarchists; all were republicans. No one dared to speak of a monarchy.

It was the Mountainists who were to shape the measures of the Convention. Their leaders were Danton and Robespierre, deputies of Paris. The party was inferior in numbers to that of the Girondins, but was superior in energy and daring, and moreover was backed by the Parisian mob.

443. The Establishment of the Republic (Sept. 21, 1792); Beginning of the Revolutionary Propaganda.—Almost the first act of the Convention was to abolish the monarchy. The motion for the abolition of royalty was not even discussed. "What need is there for discussion," exclaimed a delegate, "where all are agreed? Courts are the hotbed of crime, the focus of corruption; the history of kings is the martyrology of nations."

The day following the establishment of the Republic (Sept. 22, 1792) was made the beginning of a new era, the first day of the YEAR I. That was to be regarded as the natal day of Liberty. A little later, incited by the success of the French armies, the Convention called upon all nations to rise against despotism, and pledged the aid of France to any people wishing to secure freedom.

This call to the peoples of Europe to rise against their kings and to set up republican governments converted the revolutionary

movement in France into a propaganda, and naturally made more implacable than ever the hatred toward the Revolution felt by all lovers and beneficiaries of the old order of things.

444. Trial and Execution of the King (Jan. 21, 1793).—The next work of the Convention was the trial and execution of the king. He was brought before the bar of that body, charged with having conspired with the enemies of France, of having opposed the will of the people, and of having caused the massacre of the 10th of August. The sentence of the Convention was immediate death. On Jan. 21, 1793, the unfortunate monarch, after a last sad interview with his wife and children, was conducted to the scaffold.

445. Coalition against France; the Counter-Revolution in La Vendée.—The regicide, together with the propaganda decree of the preceding year, awakened among all the old monarchies of Europe the most bitter hostility against the French Revolutionists. The act was interpreted as a threat against all kings. A grand coalition, embracing England, Austria, Prussia, and other states, was formed to crush the republican movement. Armies aggregating more than a quarter of a million of men threatened France at once on every frontier.

While thus beset with foes without, the Republic was threatened with even more dangerous enemies within. The people of La Vendée, in Western France, where the peasants were angered at the conscription decrees of the Convention, and where there was still a strong sentiment of loyalty to the Church and the monarchy, rose in revolt against the Revolutionists.

446. Creation of the Revolutionary Tribunal (March 10, 1793) **and of the Committee of Public Safety** (April 6, 1793).—The defeat of the French armies in the north and the advance of the allies caused the greatest excitement among the Parisian populace, who now demanded that the Convention should overawe the domestic enemies of the Revolution by the establishment of a judicial dictatorship, a sort of tribunal which should take cognizance of all crimes against the Republic.

Danton, while acknowledging the injustice that the summary processes of such a court might do to many unjustly suspected,

justified its establishment by arguing that in time of peace society lets the guilty escape rather than harm the innocent; but in times of public danger it should rather strike down the innocent than allow the guilty to escape. It was on this principle that France was to be governed for one terrible year.

A little later was organized what was called the Committee of Public Safety, consisting of nine persons, members of the Convention. It was invested with dictatorial authority. The vast powers wielded by the committee were delegated to it for a single month only, but were renewed from month to month.

We must bear in mind the character of these two bodies in order to follow intelligently the subsequent events of the Revolution, and to understand how the atrocious tyranny of the Reign of Terror was exercised and maintained.

447. The Fall of the Girondins (June 2, 1793).—Still gloomier tidings came from every quarter, — news of reverses to the armies of the Republic in front of the allies, and of successes of the counter-revolutionists in La Vendée. The Mountainists in the Convention, supported by the rabble of Paris, urged the most extreme measures. They proposed that the carriages of the wealthy should be seized and used for carrying soldiers to the seat of war, and that the expenses of the government should be met by forced contributions from the rich.

The Girondins opposed these measures. The Parisian mob filled the city with cries of "Down with the Girondins!" "If the person of the people's representative be violated," warningly exclaimed one of the Girondin orators, "Paris will be destroyed, and soon the stranger will be compelled to inquire on which bank of the Seine the city stood."

The Girondins were finally overborne. An immense mob surrounded the hall of the Convention and demanded that their chiefs be given up as enemies of the Republic. Thirty-one of their leaders were surrendered and placed under arrest, a preliminary step to the speedy execution of many of them during the opening days of the Reign of Terror.

The Reign of Terror (September, 1793–July, 1794)

448. The Great Committee of Public Safety; its Principle of Government. — The perilous situation created by domestic insurrection and foreign invasion demanded a strong executive. It was created. The Convention reorganized the Committee of Public Safety, which now became what is known as the Great Committee of Public Safety, suspended the constitution, and invested the new board with supreme executive authority. For almost a full year the twelve men — of whom Robespierre was the most conspicuous — constituting this body exercised absolute power over the life and property of every person in France. The Committee's principle of government was simple. It governed by terror. Its rule is known as the Reign of Terror.

449. The Execution of Marie Antoinette (Oct. 16, 1793), of the Girondins (Oct. 31, 1793), and of Madame Roland (Nov. 8, 1793). — One of the earliest victims of the guillotine under the organized Terror was the queen. The attention of the Revolutionists had been turned anew to the remaining members of the royal family by reason of the recognition by the allies of the Dauphin as king of France,¹¹ and by the recent alarming successes of their armies. The queen, who had now borne nine months' imprisonment, was brought before the terrible Revolutionary Tribunal and condemned to the guillotine. A hideous mob of men and women howled with savage delight around the cart which bore the unhappy queen to the scaffold.

The guillotine was now fed daily with the best blood of France. Two weeks after the execution of the queen twenty of the chiefs of the Girondins, who had been kept in confinement since their arrest in the Convention, were pushed beneath the knife. Hundreds of others followed.

Most illustrious of all the victims after the queen was Madame Roland, who was accused of being the friend of the Girondins.

¹¹ The Dauphin, a mere child of eight years, was recognized as king of France by several of the great powers in January, 1793. He was at this time a prisoner in the Temple. He died in 1795, his death having been caused or at least hastened by the brutal ill usage he received at the hands of his jailers.

An incident at the scaffold is related as a memorial of her. As she was about to lay her head beneath the knife, her eye, it is said, chanced to fall upon the statue of Liberty which stood near the scaffold. "O Liberty!" she exclaimed; "what crimes are committed in thy name!"

It has ever been so. The worst crimes that stain the pages of history have been committed in the name of that which is holiest, — in the name of Liberty, or of Justice, or of Religion.

450. The New Calendar. — While the Revolutionary Tribunal was clearing out of the way the enemies of the Republic by the quick processes of the guillotine, the Convention was busy reforming the ancient institutions and customs of the land. They hated these as having been established by kings and aristocrats to enhance their own importance and to enslave the masses. They proposed to sweep these things all aside and give the world a fresh start.

A new uniform system of weights and measures, known as the metric, had already been planned by the National Assembly; a new mode of reckoning time was now introduced. The months were given new names, names expressive of the character of each. Each month was divided into three periods of ten days each, called *decades*, and each day into ten parts. The tenth day of each decade took the place of the old Sabbath. The five odd days not provided for in the arrangement were made festival days.

451. Attempt to abolish Christianity (Nov. 7, 1793). — The old calendar having been abolished, the Revolutionists next proceeded to abolish Christianity. Some of the chiefs of the Commune of Paris declared that the Revolution should not rest until it had "dethroned the King of Heaven as well as the kings of earth." They persuaded the Bishop of Paris, Gobel by name, to abdicate his office; and his example was followed by many of the clergy throughout the country.

The churches of Paris and of other cities were now closed, and the treasures of their altars and shrines confiscated to the state. Even the bells were melted down into cannon. The images of the Virgin and of the Christ were torn down, and the busts of

Marat and other patriots set up in their stead. And as the emancipation of the world was now to be wrought not by the Cross but by the guillotine, that instrument took the place of the crucifix, and was called the "Holy Guillotine." In many places all visible symbols of the ancient religion were destroyed; all emblems of hope in some cemeteries were obliterated, and over their gates were inscribed the words, "Death is eternal sleep."

452. Inauguration of the Worship of Reason (Nov. 10, 1793). — The madness of the people culminated in the worship of Reason. A celebrated beauty, personating the Goddess of Reason, was set upon the altar of Notre Dame in Paris as an object of homage and worship. The example of Paris was followed generally throughout France. Churches were converted into temples of the new worship. The Sabbath having been abolished, the services of the temple were held only upon every tenth day. On that day the mayor or some popular leader mounted the altar and harangued the people, dwelling upon the news of the moment, the triumphs of the armies of the Republic, the glorious achievements of the Révolution, and the privilege of living in an era when one was oppressed neither by kings on earth nor by a King in heaven.



FIG. 48. — ROBESPIERRE
(From a French print)

453. Fall of Hébert and Danton (March and April, 1794). — During the progress of events the Jacobins had become divided into three factions, headed respectively by Danton, Robespierre, and Hébert. To make his own power supreme, Robespierre resolved to crush the other two leaders. Hébert and his party were the first to fall, Danton and his adherents working with Robespierre to bring about their ruin. Danton and his party were the next to follow. The last words of Danton to the executioner were, "Show my head to the people; they do not see the like every day." The grim request was granted.

Robespierre was now supreme. His ambition was attained. "He stood alone on the awful eminence of the Holy Mountain." But his turn was soon to come.

454. Worship of the Supreme Being.—One of the first acts of Robespierre after he had freed himself from his most virulent enemies was to give France a new religion in place of the worship of Reason. Robespierre wished to sweep away Christianity as a superstition, but he would stop at deism. He did not believe that a state could be founded on atheism. "If God did not exist," he declared, "it would behoove man to invent Him."

In a remarkable address delivered before the Convention on the 7th of May, 1794, Robespierre eloquently defended the doctrines of God and immortality, and then closed his speech by offering for adoption this decree: "(1) The French people recognize the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul; (2) they recognize that the worship most worthy of the Supreme Being is the practice of the duties of man; and (3) they put in the first rank of these duties to detest bad faith and tyranny, to punish tyrants and traitors, to rescue the unfortunate, to defend the oppressed, to do to others all the good one can, and to be unjust towards none." The Convention adopted the resolution with the "utmost enthusiasm." The churches which had been converted into temples of the Goddess of Reason were now consecrated to the new worship of the Supreme Being.

455. The Culmination of the Terror at Paris (June and July, 1794).—At the same time that Robespierre was instituting the new worship, the Great Committee of Public Safety, of which he was generally regarded as the controlling spirit, was ruling France by a terrorism unparalleled since the most frightful days at Rome. The prisons of Paris and of the departments were filled with suspected persons, until two hundred thousand prisoners were crowded into these republican bastilles. At Paris the dungeons were emptied of their victims and room made for fresh ones by the swift processes of the Revolutionary Tribunal, which in mockery of justice caused the prisoners to be brought before its bar in companies of ten or fifty or more. Rank or talent was an

inexpiable crime. "Were you not a noble?" asked the president of the tribunal of one of the accused. "Yes," was the reply. "Enough; another!" was the judge's verdict. And so on through the long list each day brought before the court.

The scenes about the guillotine seem mirrored from the *Inferno* of Dante. Benches were arranged around the scaffold and rented to spectators, like seats in a theater. The market women of Paris, who were known as "the Furies of the Guillotine," busied themselves with their knitting while watching the changing scenes of the bloody spectacle. In the space of seven weeks (June 10–July 27) the number of persons guillotined at Paris was thirteen hundred and seventy-six, — an average of over twenty-eight a day.

456. The Terror in the Provinces. — While such was the frightful state of things at the capital, matters were even worse in several of the provinces. Some of the cities which had been prominent centers of the counter-revolution were made a terrible example of the vengeance of the Revolutionists. At Nantes the terror culminated. The agent here of the Great Committee was one Carrier. At first he caused his victims to be shot singly or to be guillotined; but finding these methods too slow, he devised more expeditious modes of execution, which were known as *fusillades* (battues) and *noyades* (drownings). The *fusillades* consisted in gathering the victims in large companies and then mowing them down with cannon and musket. In the *noyades* a hundred or more persons were crowded into an old hulk, which was then towed out into the Loire and scuttled.

By these various methods Carrier succeeded in destroying upwards of five thousand persons in about four months. What renders these murders the more atrocious is the fact that a considerable number of the victims were women and little children.

457. The Fall of Robespierre (July 28, 1794); **Punishment of the Terrorists.** — The Reign of Terror had lasted about nine months when a reaction came. The successes of the armies of the Republic and the establishment of the authority of the Convention throughout the departments caused the people to look

upon the wholesale executions that were daily taking place as unnecessary and cruel. They began to turn with horror and pity from the scenes of the guillotine. Robespierre was the first to be swept away by the reaction. The Convention denounced him and his adherents as enemies of the Republic. He was arrested, rescued by the rabble of Paris, rearrested and straightway sent to the guillotine, and along with him several of his friends and the greater part of the members of the Commune of Paris.

The reaction which had swept away Robespierre and his associates continued after their fall. There was a general demand for the punishment of the Terrorists. The clubs of the Jacobins were closed, and that infamous society which had rallied and directed the hideous rabbles of the great cities was broken up. The Christian worship was reëstablished.

458. Effects of the Reign of Terror. — The effect of the Terror upon France was just what the Terrorists had aimed to produce. It effectually cowed all opposition at home to the Revolution, thereby preserving the unity of France and enabling her to push the foreign foe from her soil.

Outside of France the effects of the rule by terror were most unfavorable to the true cause of the Revolutionists. It destroyed the illusions of generous souls, like Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey in England, and caused among the earlier sympathizers with the Revolutionists a great revulsion of feeling. From being Liberals men became Conservatives and determined foes of all innovation and reform. The Revolution was discredited in the eyes of its best friends. It became identified in men's minds with atheism and terrorism, and to the present hour in the minds of many the French Revolution suggests nothing save foul blasphemies and guillotine horrors.

459. Bonaparte defends the Convention (Oct. 5, 1795). — Experience had shown the defects of the revolutionary government, particularly in that it united both legislative and executive power in the same hands. The Convention now set about framing a new constitution, which vested the executive power in a body called the Directory, consisting of five persons. It also provided

for two legislative bodies, known as the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Ancients.

Certain features of the new constitution displeased the Parisian mob. The sections of the turbulent capital again gathered their hordes, and on the 5th of October, 1795, a mob of forty thousand men advanced to the attack of the Tuileries, where the Convention was sitting. As the mob came on they were met by a "whiff of grapeshot," which sent them flying back in wild disorder. The man who trained the guns was a young artillery officer, a native of the island of Corsica, — Napoleon Bonaparte. The Revolution had at last brought forth a man of genius capable of controlling and directing its tremendous energies.

V. THE DIRECTORY (Oct. 27, 1795–Nov. 9, 1799)

460. The Republic becomes Aggressive. — Under the Directory the Republic, which up to this time had been acting mainly on the defensive, very soon entered upon an aggressive policy. The Revolution having accomplished its work in France, having there put an end to despotism and class privilege, now set itself about fulfilling its early promise of giving liberty to all peoples (sec. 443).

Had not the minds and hearts of the people in all the neighboring countries been prepared to welcome the new order of things, the Revolution could never have spread itself as widely as it did. But everywhere irrepressible longings for equality and freedom, born of long oppression, were stirring the souls of men. The French armies were everywhere welcomed by the people as deliverers. Thus was France enabled to surround herself with a girdle of commonwealths. She conquered Europe not by her armies but by her ideas. "An invasion of armies," says Victor Hugo, "can be resisted : an invasion of ideas cannot be resisted."

The republics established were, it is true, short-lived ; for the times were not yet ripe for the complete triumph of democratic ideas. But a great gain for freedom was made. The reëstablished monarchies, as we shall see later, never dared to make themselves as despotic as those which the Revolution had overturned.

461. The Plans of the Directory. — Austria and England were the only formidable powers that still persisted in their hostility to the Republic. The Directors resolved to strike a decisive blow at the first of these implacable foes. To carry out their design, two large armies were mustered upon the Middle Rhine and intrusted to the command of the two young and energetic generals, Moreau and Jourdan, who were to make a direct invasion of Germany. A third army, numbering about forty-two thousand men, was assembled in the neighborhood of Nice, in Southeastern France, and placed in the hands of Bonaparte, to whom was assigned the work of driving the Austrians out of Italy.

462. Bonaparte's Italian Campaign (1796-1797). — Straightway upon receiving his command, Bonaparte, now in his twenty-seventh year, hastened to join his army at Nice. He at once aroused all its latent enthusiasm by one of those short, stirring addresses for which he afterwards became so famous. "Soldiers," said he, "you are badly fed and almost naked. . . . I have come to lead you into the most fertile fields of the world ; there you will find large cities, rich provinces, honor, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy, will you fail in courage?"

If this address be placed alongside the decree of the Convention offering the aid of France to all peoples desiring freedom (sec. 910), it will be realized with how alien a spirit Bonaparte here inspires the armies of republican France. He represents Italy to the imagination of the soldiers of the French Republic merely as a country of rich cities to be despoiled, as a land whence France may draw unlimited tribute. The address marks the beginning of that transformation which in a few years changed the liberating armies of France into the scourge of Europe.

Before the mountain roads were yet free from snow Bonaparte set in motion his army, which he had assembled on the coast near Genoa, and suddenly forced the passage of the mountains at the juncture of the Apennines and the Maritime Alps. The Carthaginian had been surpassed. "Hannibal," exclaimed Bonaparte, "crossed the Alps ; as for us, we have turned them."

Now followed a most astonishing series of French victories over the Austrians and their allies. As a result of the campaign a considerable part of Northern Italy was formed into a commonwealth under the name of the Cisalpine Republic. Genoa was also transformed into the Ligurian Republic.

463. Treaty of Campo Formio (Oct. 17, 1797).—While Bonaparte had been gaining his surprising victories in Italy, Moreau and Jourdan had been meeting with severe reverses in Germany. Bonaparte, having effected the work assigned to the army of Italy, now climbed the Eastern Alps and marched toward Vienna. The near approach of the French to his capital induced the Emperor Francis II to listen to proposals of peace. An armistice was agreed upon, and later the important Treaty of Campo Formio was arranged, by the terms of which Austria ceded her Belgian provinces to France, receiving as an offset the Venetian dominions, save the Ionian Islands, which were annexed to the French Republic.

With the treaty arranged, Bonaparte soon set out for Paris, where was accorded him a triumph and ovation such as Europe had not seen since the days of the old Roman conquerors.

464. Bonaparte's Campaign in Egypt (1798–1799).—The Directors had received Bonaparte with apparent enthusiasm; but at this very moment they were disquieted by fears lest their general's ambition might lead him to play the part of a second Cæsar. They resolved to engage him in an enterprise which would take him out of France. This undertaking was an attack upon England, which they were then meditating. Bonaparte opposed the plan of a descent upon the island as impracticable, but proposed the conquest of Egypt. This would enable France to control the trade of the East and cut England off from her East India possessions. The Directors assented to the plan, and with feelings of relief saw Bonaparte embark from the port of Toulon to carry out the enterprise.

Evading the vigilance of the British fleet that was patrolling the Mediterranean, Bonaparte landed in Egypt (July 1, 1798). Within sight of the Pyramids the French army was checked in its march

by a determined stand of the renowned Mameluke cavalry. Bonaparte animated the spirits of his men for the inevitable fight by one of his happiest speeches. One of the sentences is memorable. "Soldiers," he exclaimed, pointing to the Pyramids, "forty centuries are looking down upon you." The battle that followed is known in history as the "battle of the Pyramids." Bonaparte gained a victory that opened the way for his advance to Cairo. He had barely entered that city before the startling intelligence was borne to him that his fleet had been destroyed at the mouth of the Nile by the English admiral Nelson (August 1, 1798).

In the spring of 1799, the Ottoman Porte having sent a force to retake Egypt, Bonaparte led his army into Syria to fight the Turks there. He finally invested Acre. The Turks were assisted in the defense of this place by the distinguished English commodore, Sir Sidney Smith. All Bonaparte's efforts to carry the place by storm were in vain. "I missed my destiny at Acre," said Bonaparte afterwards. With the ports of Syria secured he might have imitated Alexander and led his soldiers to the foot of the Himalayas. Bitterly disappointed, Bonaparte abandoned the siege of Acre, and led his army back into Egypt.

465. Establishment of the Tiberine, the Helvetic, and the Parthenopean Republic (1798-1799).—We must turn now to note affairs in Europe. The year 1798 was a favorable one for the republican cause represented by the Revolution. During that year and the opening month of the following one, the French set up three new republics. First, they incited an insurrection at Rome, made a prisoner of the Pope, and proclaimed the Roman or Tiberine Republic. Then, intervening in a revolution in Switzerland, they invaded the Swiss cantons and united them into a commonwealth under the name of the Helvetic Republic. A little later they drove the king of Naples out of Italy to Sicily, and transformed his peninsular domains into the Parthenopean Republic. Thus were three new republics added to the commonwealths which the Revolution had previously created.

466. The Reaction ; Bonaparte overthrows the Directory (18th and 19th Brumaire, 1799).—Much of this work was quickly undone. Encouraged by the victory of Nelson over the French fleet in the battle of the Nile, and alarmed at the aggressions of the government of the Directory, the leading powers of Europe, now including the Tsar of Russia, who was incensed against the French especially for their intrusion into the Orient, which the Russian rulers had ever regarded as their own particular sphere of influence, had formed a new coalition against France.

The war began early in 1799 and was waged at one and the same time in Italy, in Switzerland, and in Holland. In the south the campaign was extremely disastrous to the French. They were driven out of Italy, and were barely able to keep the allies off the soil of France. The Cisalpine, Tiberine, and Parthenopean republics were abolished. These reverses suffered by the French armies in Italy, though in other quarters they had been successful, caused the Directory to fall into great disfavor. They were charged with having through jealousy exiled Bonaparte, the only man who could save the Republic. Confusion and division prevailed everywhere. The threats of the mob of Paris began to create apprehensions of another Reign of Terror.

News of the desperate state of affairs at home reached Bonaparte in Egypt, just after his return from Syria. He instantly formed a bold resolve. Confiding the command of the army in Egypt to Kléber,¹² he set sail for France, disclosing his designs in the significant words, "The reign of the lawyers is over."

Bonaparte was welcomed in France with the wildest enthusiasm. A great majority of the people felt instinctively that the emergency demanded a dictator. Some of the Directors joined with Napoleon in a plot to overthrow the government. Meeting with opposition in the Council of Five Hundred, Napoleon with a body of grenadiers drove the deputies from their chamber.

The French Revolution had at last brought forth its Cromwell. Napoleon was master of France. The first French Republic was at an end, and what is distinctively called the French Revolution

¹² A little later, this army in Egypt surrendered to the English

was over. Now commences the history of the Consulate and the First Empire,—the story of that surprising career the sun of which rose so brightly at Austerlitz and set forever at Waterloo.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

THE CONSULATE AND THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

(1799-1815)

I. THE CONSULATE (1799-1804)

467. The Veiled Military Dictatorship. — After the overthrow of the government of the Directory, a new constitution was prepared and, having been submitted to the approval of the people,



FIG. 49. — NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. (After the medallion by *Isabey*)

was accepted by a vote of over three millions to less than two thousand. This new instrument vested the executive power in three Consuls, nominated for a term of ten years, the first of whom really exercised all the authority of the board, the remaining two members being simply his counselors. Bonaparte, of course, became the First Consul.

The other functions of the government were carried on by a Council of State, a Tribunal, a Legislature, and a Senate. But the members of all these bodies were appointed either directly or indirectly by the Consuls, so that the entire government was actually in their hands, or rather in the hands of the First Consul. France was still called a republic, but it was such a republic as Rome was under Augustus. The republican names and forms merely veiled a government as

absolute and personal as that of Louis XIV,—in a word, a military dictatorship.

468. Wars of the First Consul. — Bonaparte inherited from the Directory war with Austria and England. Offers of peace to both having been rejected, Bonaparte mustered his armies. His plan was to deal Austria, his only formidable Continental enemy, a double blow. A large army was collected on the Rhine for an invasion of Germany. This was intrusted to Moreau. Another, intended to operate against the Austrians in Italy, was gathered with great secrecy at the foot of the Alps. Bonaparte himself assumed command of this latter force.

In the spring of the year 1800 Bonaparte made his memorable passage of the Alps, and astonished the Austrian generals by suddenly appearing in Piedmont at the head of an army of forty thousand men. Upon the renowned field of Marengo the Austrian army, which greatly outnumbered that of the French, was completely overwhelmed, and North Italy lay for a second time at the feet of Bonaparte. The Cisalpine Republic was now reëstablished.

A few months after the battle of Marengo, Moreau gained a decisive victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden, which opened the way to Vienna. The Emperor Francis II was now constrained to sign a treaty of peace at Lunéville (Feb. 9, 1801). The most important part of the treaty was that which provided for the reconstruction of the Germanic body. But as this reorganization of Central Europe was not completed until after the battle of Austerlitz, we shall defer explanation of it until we reach that important event (sec. 476). The year following the peace between France and Austria, England signed the Peace of Amiens.

469. Bonaparte as an Enlightened Despot. — Peace with Austria and England left Bonaparte free to devote his amazing energies to the reform and improvement of the internal affairs of France. It was his work here which constitutes his true title to fame. He was, in the words of his biographer, Professor Sloane, "one of the greatest social reformers of the world." We shall best understand Bonaparte in his rôle as a réformer, and best determine his place

in history, if we regard him as the successor of the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century. His mission was to carry on and perfect their work and to consummate the reforms and to make secure the social results of the Revolution.

To close the wounds inflicted upon France by the Revolution was one of the first aims of Bonaparte. The deepest wound had been given by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (sec. 433). This had divided the nation into two bitterly opposed parties. Moreover, since 1794 the government had ceased to pay the salaries of the priests, with the result that many communes were wholly without regular religious services. To remedy this state of things Bonaparte entered into an agreement with the holy see known as the Concordat (July 15, 1801). The First Consul was to appoint archbishops and bishops impartially from both parties, and the state was again to assume as a public charge the salaries of the clergy.¹ The Pope was to be recognized as the head of the Church in France, and was to confirm in their ecclesiastical offices the persons appointed by the government. The Concordat closed the great breach which the Revolution had opened in the French Church, and attached the Catholics to the government of the First Consul.

Not less successful was Bonaparte in his efforts to restore those material interests of the country which had suffered during the Revolution. He repaired and constructed roads and bridges, dug canals, and improved the seaports of the country. The great military roads which he caused to be constructed over the Alps are marvels of engineering skill, and served as a chief means of communication between Italy and the north of Europe until the mountains were pierced with tunnels.

The public buildings and monuments of France had fallen into decay. Bonaparte restored the old and built new ones. He embellished Paris and the other chief cities of France with

¹ This arrangement held good down to 1905, the salaries of all the French clergy, including Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis, being paid out of the public treasury. In the year named, however, the agreement was annulled by the French government and State and Church in France were separated.

public edifices and memorial monuments of every description. Many of these works are the pride of France to-day.

But the most noteworthy of the works of Napoleon Bonaparte, either as First Consul or as Emperor, was the compilation of what is known as the Civil Code, or Code Napoléon, which has caused his name to be joined with that of Justinian as one of the great lawgivers of history. Almost immediately after coming to power he appointed a commission of five eminent jurists to take up this work, which had been begun by the Constituent Assembly and the Convention. These experts were busied with the labor for about four years (1800-1804).

The Code was made up of the ancient customs of France, of Roman law maxims, and particularly of the principles and legislation of the Revolution. This great mass of material was condensed, harmonized, and revised in some such way as the jurists of the Emperor Justinian handled the accumulated mass of law material — old and new, pagan and Christian — of their time, in the creation of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

The influence of the Civil Code upon the development of Liberalism in Western Europe was most salutary. It secured the work of the Revolution. It swept away the old unequal, oppressive customs and laws that were an inheritance from the feudal ages. It recognized the equality of noble and peasant in the eye of the law. Either its principles or its direct provisions were soon introduced into half of the countries of Europe.

470. Bonaparte becomes Consul for Life (August, 1802).—Through the Senate and the Council of State it was now proposed to the French people that Bonaparte should be made Consul for life, in order that his magnificent projects of restoration and reform might be pursued without interruption. With almost a single voice the people approved the proposal. Thus did the First Consul move a step nearer the imperial throne. From this time on Bonaparte, imitating a royal custom, used only his first name, Napoleon, and it is by this name, destined to fill such a great place in history, that we shall hereafter know him.

II. THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE ; THE WAR OF LIBERATION (1804-1815)

471. Napoleon proclaimed Emperor (1804).—A conspiracy against the life of the First Consul and the increased activity of his enemies resulted in a movement to increase his power and to insure his safety and the stability of his government by placing him upon a throne. A decree of the Senate conferring upon him the title of Emperor of the French having been submitted to the people for approval, was ratified by an almost unanimous vote. The coronation took place in the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, Dec. 2, 1804, Pope Pius VII having been induced to come from Rome to take part in the ceremonies.

472. The Republics created by the Revolution are changed into Kingdoms.—Within two years from the time that the French government assumed an imperial form, three of the surrounding republics raised up by the revolutionary ideas and armies of France had been transformed into states with monarchical governments dependent upon the French Empire or had been incorporated with France. In a word, all these states now became practically the fiefs of Napoleon's empire, the provinces and dependencies of a new Rome.

Thus the Cisalpine or Italian Republic was changed into a kingdom, and Napoleon, crowning himself at Milan with the "Iron Crown" of the Lombards,² assumed the government of the state, with the title of King of Italy (May, 1805). A little later in the same year the Emperor incorporated the Ligurian Republic with the French Empire (June, 1805). Then he remodeled the Batavian Republic into the kingdom of Holland and conferred the crown upon his favorite brother Louis (May, 1806).

Thus was the political work of the Revolution undone. Political liberty was taken away. "I set it aside," said Napoleon, "when it obstructed my road." Civil equality was left.

² Napoleon here imitated Charlemagne. He said, "I am Charlemagne, for like Charlemagne I unite the crowns of France and Lombardy." Compare sec. 64.

473. The Empire and the Old Monarchies. — It will not be supposed that the states of Europe were looking quietly on while all this was being done. The colossal power which the soldier of fortune was building up was a menace to all Europe. The Empire was more dreaded than the Republic, because it was a military despotism, and as such was an instrument of irresistible power in the hands of a man of such genius and resources as Napoleon. Coalition after coalition, of which England was "the paymaster," was formed by the sovereigns of Europe against the "usurper," with the object at first of pushing France back within her original boundaries, and then later of deposing Napoleon as the disturber of the peace of Europe and the oppressor of the nations.

From the coronation of Napoleon in 1804 until his final downfall in 1815 the tremendous struggle went on almost without intermission. It was the war of the giants. Europe was shaken from end to end with such armies as the world had not seen since the days of Xerxes. Napoleon performed the miracles of genius. His brilliant achievements still dazzle, while they amaze, the world.

To relate in detail the campaigns of Napoleon from Austerlitz to Waterloo would require the space of volumes. We shall simply indicate in a few brief paragraphs the successive steps by which he mounted to the highest pitch of power and fame, and then trace hurriedly the decline and fall of his astonishing fortunes.

474. Napoleon's Preparations for invading England; the Sale of Louisiana to the United States; the Camp at Boulogne (1803-1805). — Even before Napoleon's coronation, war had been renewed between France and England. One of Napoleon's first acts of preparation for this struggle was the sale (in 1803) to the United States, for fifteen million dollars, of the territory of Louisiana, which he had recently acquired from Spain. He was impelled to do this because his inferiority at sea made it impossible for him to defend such remote possessions.

The sale and transfer of this immense region of boundless resources was one of the most important transactions in history.

Napoleon seems to have realized its significance for the development of the great American republic. "I have given England a rival," he said, "which sooner or later will humble her pride."

As early as 1803 Napoleon had begun to mass a great army at Boulogne, on the English Channel, and to build an immense number of flat-bottomed boats preparatory to an invasion of England. "Carthage must be destroyed," was the menacing and persistent cry of the French press. "Masters of the Channel for six hours," said Napoleon, "and we are masters of the world."

Napoleon's menacing preparations produced throughout England an alarm unequaled by anything the English people had experienced since the days of the Spanish Armada. The younger Pitt, at this time head of the English government, was untiring in fostering a new coalition of the powers against France. Early in the year 1805 England and Russia formed an alliance which was intended to constitute the nucleus of a general European league. Austria and other states soon joined the coalition.

475. Campaign against Austria : Austerlitz (Dec. 2, 1805).— Intelligence reaching Napoleon that both the Austrian and the Russian armies were on the move, he suddenly broke up the camp at Boulogne, flung his Grand Army, as it was called, across the Rhine, outmaneuvered and captured a great Austrian army at Ulm, and then marched in triumph through Vienna to the field of Austerlitz beyond, where he gained one of his most memorable victories over the combined armies of Austria and Russia, numbering more than eighty thousand men. Austria was now shorn of large tracts of her dominions,⁸ including Venetia, which Napoleon added to the kingdom of Italy.

476. The Reorganization of Germany; End of the Holy Roman Empire (1806).— That reconstruction of the Germanic body which Napoleon had begun after the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden (sec. 468) was now in its large outlines completed. Napoleon ultimately reduced the three hundred and more states comprising the Germanic system to about forty. It was the

⁸ The Treaty of Pressburg (Dec. 26, 1805) arranged affairs between Austria and France.

ecclesiastical states, the free imperial cities, and the petty states of the minor princes which suffered extinction, their lands being bestowed upon the princes of the states selected for survival. Among the rulers especially favored at this time were the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Würtemberg, both of whom were made kings and given enough territory to enable them to maintain becomingly this new dignity.

These favored states, together with others, — sixteen in all, — now declared themselves independent of the old Holy Roman Empire, and were formed into a league called the Confederation of the Rhine, with Napoleon as Protector (July 12, 1806). Emperor Francis II, recognizing that his office was virtually abolished, now laid down the imperial crown (August 6, 1806), and henceforth used as his highest title *Francis I, Emperor of Austria*.

Thus did the Holy Roman Empire come to an end, after having maintained an existence, since its revival under Charlemagne, of almost exactly one thousand years. Reckoning from its establishment by Cæsar Augustus, it had lasted over eighteen hundred years, thus being one of the longest-lived of human institutions, — if mere existence may be reckoned as life.

477. Good Results of Napoleon's Reorganization of Germany. — Napoleon's reorganization of the Germanic body brought ultimately great blessings to the German folk. It marked the beginning of the regeneration of the German fatherland. Out of the new German system which Napoleon created was to rise the German Empire of to-day. Hence we may regard Napoleon's reconstruction of Central Europe as one of the most important, in its far-reaching consequences, of all his acts.

An immediate benefit conferred upon the states of the Confederation of the Rhine was the introduction into them of all the reforms which had regenerated France and made her strong. Serfdom was abolished where it still lingered; equality of the noble and the non-noble classes before the law was established; and the new French Civil Code was partly put in force.

478. Trafalgar (Oct. 21, 1805). — Napoleon's brilliant victories in Germany were clouded by an irretrievable disaster to his

fleet, which occurred on the day following the surrender of the Austrians at Ulm. Lord Nelson having met, near Cape Trafalgar on the coast of Spain, the combined French and Spanish fleets, — Spain was at this time Napoleon's ally, — almost completely destroyed the combined armaments. The gallant English admiral fell at the moment of victory.

This decisive battle gave England the control of the sea and relieved her from all danger of a French invasion. Even the "wet ditch," as Napoleon was wont contemptuously to call the English Channel, was henceforth an impassable gulf to his ambition. He might rule the Continent, but the sovereignty of the ocean and its islands was denied him.

479. Campaign against Prussia: Jena and Auerstädt (1806). — Prussia was the next state after Austria to feel the weight of Napoleon's hand. King Frederick William III, goaded by insufferable insult, imprudently threw down the gauntlet to the victor of Austerlitz.

Moving with his usual swiftness, Napoleon overwhelmed the Prussian armies in the battles of Jena and Auerstädt, which were both fought on the same day (Oct. 14, 1806). The greater part of Prussia was now quickly overrun by the French. The capital, Berlin, was entered by them in triumph. The sword of the great Frederick, the famous car of victory over the Brandenburg Gate, together with many treasures stolen from the museums and art galleries of the city, were carried as trophies to Paris.

480. Campaigns against the Russians: Eylau and Friedland (1807). — The Russian army, which the Tsar Alexander had sent to the aid of Frederick William, was still in the field against Napoleon in the Prussian territories east of the Vistula.

Early in the year 1807 Napoleon attacked, on a stormy winter day, the Russian forces at Eylau. The battle was sanguinary and indecisive, each army, it is estimated, leaving over thirty thousand dead and wounded on the snow. During the summer campaign of the same year Napoleon again engaged the Russians in the terrible battle of Friedland and completely overwhelmed them. The Tsar was constrained to sue for peace.

By the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit, Prussia was stripped of fully one half of her dominions, a part of which, in connection with other lands, was made into a new state, called the Kingdom of Westphalia, with Napoleon's brother Jerome as its king, and added to the Confederation of the Rhine; while the greater part of Prussian Poland, reorganized and named the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, was given to the vassal king of Saxony.⁴ What was left of Prussia became virtually a dependency of the French Empire.

481. The Continental Blockade; the Berlin and Milan Decrees (1806-1807).—After the Peace of Tilsit, England was Napoleon's sole remaining enemy. The means which he employed to compass the ruin of this formidable and obstinate foe, the paymaster of the coalitions which he was having constantly to face, affords the key to the history of the great years from 1807 to the final downfall of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815. These means were what is known as the Continental Blockade or System. We have seen how the destruction of Napoleon's fleet at Trafalgar dashed all his hopes of ever making a descent upon the British shores (sec. 478). Unable to reach his enemy directly with his arms, he resolved to strike her through her commerce. By two celebrated edicts, called from the cities whence they were issued the Berlin and Milan decrees, he closed all the ports of the Continent against English ships, and forbade any of the European nations from holding any intercourse with Great Britain. The policy thus adopted by Napoleon to bring England to terms by ruining her trade was a suicidal one, and resulted finally in the ruin of his own empire.

482. Beginning of the Peninsular Wars (1808).—One of the first consequences of Napoleon's Continental Blockade was to bring him into conflict with Portugal. The prince regent of that country refusing to comply with all his demands respecting English trade and property, Napoleon sent one of his marshals to take possession of the kingdom. The entire royal family, accompanied by many of the nobility, fled to Brazil. Portugal now became virtually a province of Napoleon's empire.

⁴ Napoleon had made the Elector of Saxony a king just after the battle of Jena.

483. Napoleon places his Brother Joseph upon the Spanish Throne (June 6, 1808); **the Spanish Uprising.**—Spain was next appropriated. Arrogantly interfering in the affairs of that country,—the government it must be said was desperately incompetent and corrupt,—Napoleon induced the weak-minded Bourbon king, Charles IV, to resign to him as “his dearly beloved friend and ally” his crown, which he at once bestowed upon his brother Joseph. The throne of Naples, which Joseph had been occupying,⁵ was transferred to Murat, Napoleon’s brother-in-law. Thus did this audacious man make and unmake kings, and give away thrones and kingdoms.

But the high-spirited Spaniards were not the people to submit tamely to such an indignity. The entire nation from the Pyrenees to the Straits of Gibraltar flew to arms. Portugal also arose, and England sent to her aid a force under Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington and the hero of Waterloo. The French armies were soon driven out of Portugal, and pushed beyond the Ebro in Spain. Joseph fled in dismay from his throne, and Napoleon found it necessary to take the field himself, in order to restore the prestige of the French arms. He entered the peninsula at the head of a great army, and resealed his brother upon the Spanish throne. Threatening tidings from another quarter of Europe now caused Napoleon to hasten back to Paris.

484. Napoleon’s Third Campaign against Austria (1809).—Taking advantage of Napoleon’s troubles in the Iberian peninsula, Emperor Francis I of Austria had put his army on a war footing, and made ready to throw down the gage of battle. The war opened in the spring of 1809. At the end of a short campaign, the most noted engagements of which were the hard-fought battles of Aspern (Essling) and Wagram, Austria was again at Napoleon’s feet. She was now still further dismembered. Among other lands taken from her was a long strip of shore land on the Adriatic, which, under the name of the Illyrian Provinces, Napoleon added to the French Empire. He now had actual or virtual control of the whole of the European coast line from the frontier of Turkey on the Adriatic to the frontier of Russia on the Baltic.

⁵ Napoleon had dethroned the Bourbons in Naples in 1806.

485. Union of the Papal States with Napoleon's Empire (May, 1809). — Napoleon's Continental System now brought him into trouble with the Papacy. Pope Pius VII refused to enforce the blockade against England and further presumed to disregard other commands of Napoleon. Thereupon Napoleon declared that the Pope "was no longer a secular prince," and took possession of his domains. Pope Pius straightway excommunicated the Emperor, who thereupon arrested him, and for three years held him a state prisoner.

486. Napoleon's Second Marriage (1810). — Soon after his triumph over the Emperor Francis, Napoleon divorced his wife Josephine in order to form a new alliance with the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria. Josephine bowed meekly to the will of her lord and went into sorrowful exile from his palace. Napoleon's object in this matter was to cover the reproach of his plebeian birth by an alliance with one of the ancient royal families of Europe, and to secure the perpetuity of his government by leaving an heir to be the inheritor of his throne and fortunes.

The ambition of Napoleon to found a dynasty seemed realized when, the year following his marriage with the archduchess, a son was born to them, who was given the title of King of Rome. His enemies could now no longer, as he reproached them with doing, make appointments at his grave. He had now something more than "a life interest" in France. The succession was assured.

487. Holland and North German Coast Lands annexed to Napoleon's Empire (1810). — During this year of his second marriage Napoleon made two fresh territorial additions to his empire.

Louis Bonaparte, — king of Holland, it will be recalled, — disapproving of his brother's Continental System, which was ruining the trade of the Dutch, abdicated the crown. Thereupon Napoleon incorporated Holland with the French Empire (July 9, 1810).

A few months later Napoleon also annexed to his empire all the German coast land from Holland to Lübeck in order to be able to close the important ports here against English trade.

488. Napoleon's Empire at its Greatest Extent (1811).— In these additions the Napoleonic empire received its last enlargement. Napoleon was now, in outward seeming, at the height of his marvelous fortunes. Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Wagram were the successive steps by which he had mounted to the most dizzy heights of military power and glory.

The empire which this soldier of fortune had built up stretched from Lübeck to beyond Rome, embracing France proper, the Netherlands, part of Western and Northwestern Germany, all Western Italy as far south as the kingdom of Naples, together with the Illyrian Provinces and the Ionian Islands.

On all sides were allied, vassal, or dependent states. Several of the ancient thrones of Europe were occupied by Napoleon's relatives or his favorite marshals. He himself was king of the kingdom of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Mediator of Switzerland. Austria and Prussia were completely subject to his will. Russia and Denmark were his allies.

Such were the relations of the once great powers and independent states of Europe to "the Corsican adventurer." Not since the time of the Cæsars had one man's will swayed so much of the civilized world.

489. Elements of Weakness in the Empire.— But, splendid and imposing as at this moment appeared the external affairs of Napoleon, the sun of his fortunes, which had risen so brightly at Austerlitz, had already passed its meridian. There were many things just now contributing to the weakness of Napoleon's empire and foreboding its speedy dissolution. Founded and upheld by the genius of this single man, it depended solely upon his life and fortunes.

Again, Napoleon's Continental System, through the suffering and loss it inflicted particularly upon the maritime countries of Europe, had caused murmurs of discontent all around the circumference of the Continent.

Still again, the conscriptions of the Emperor had drained France of men, and her armies were now recruited by mere boys, who were utterly unfit to bear the burden and fatigue of

Napoleon's rapid campaigns. The heavy taxes, also, which were necessary to meet the expenses of Napoleon's wars, and to carry on the splendid public works upon which he was constantly engaged, produced great suffering and discontent throughout the empire.

Furthermore, Napoleon's harsh and unjust treatment of Pope Pius VII had alienated the Catholic clergy and created a resentful feeling among pious Catholics everywhere.

At the same time the crowd of deposed princes and dispossessed aristocrats in those states which Napoleon had reconstructed, and in which he had set up the new code of equal rights, were naturally resentful, and were ever watching an opportunity to regain their lost power and privileges.

Even the large class who at first welcomed Napoleon as the representative of the French ideas of equality and liberty, and applauded while he overturned ancient thrones and stripped of their privileges ancient aristocracies, — even many of these early adherents had been turned into bitter enemies by his adoption of imperial manners and the formation of a court, and especially by his setting aside his first wife, Josephine, and forming a marriage alliance with one of the old hated royal houses of Europe.

490. The New Force destined to destroy Napoleon's Empire : the Nations. — But the active force which was to overwhelm Napoleon's empire and to free Europe from his tyranny was the sentiment of national patriotism which was being aroused in the dismembered and vassal states, and in those whose independence was imperiled. The Empire threatened to become the tomb of the Nations. In the face of this danger national patriotism was being everywhere awakened. We have witnessed the popular uprising in Spain ; we shall now witness a similar movement in Germany and in Russia.

491. The Regeneration of Prussia ; Reforms of Baron vom Stein. — It was in Prussia that this patriotic movement found most passionate expression. After the crushing defeat at Jena, Prussia had been subjected by Napoleon to every indignity and forced to drain to the dregs the cup of humiliation. This had for a result

the calling into life in the nobler souls among the Germans of the long dormant sentiment of national patriotism. The growth of the new feeling was stimulated and directed by various agencies, particularly by patriot poets and teachers. A wholly new spirit was breathed into German education. Thousands of German youths were stirred by a sentiment they had never felt before, — ardent love for the German name and the German land.

At the same time the masses of the people were being reached and awakened by the social and economic reforms planned by the eminent statesman Baron vom Stein, minister of King Frederick William. Two thirds of the population of Prussia were at this period serfs. Now Stein's idea was that the strength of a state depends upon the patriotism of the people; but his insight revealed to him the truth that "patriots cannot be made out of serfs." Hence his policy of enfranchisement.

By a celebrated Edict of Emancipation serfdom was abolished. This decree deserves a place along with the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln and the edict of the Emperor Alexander II which liberated the Russian serfs. The Prussian king, in the words of Stein, was no longer "the king of slaves, but of free men." Prussia's future was now secure. Henceforth she was not merely a state but a nation.

The army also was reorganized on the model of that of France. The old army, which had gone to pieces so disgracefully on the field of Jena, was made up of conscripted peasants, officered by incompetent and insolent nobles. Flogging was the punishment for even the most trivial offenses. The new army was an army of self-respecting citizens, a truly national army.

The effect of these reforms upon the spirit of the people was magical. They effected the political and moral regeneration of Prussia. They did for Prussia what like reforms had done for France. Prussia now became strong like France, because Prussia was no longer simply the king and the aristocracy, but the Prussian people.

Prussia regenerated became the leader of Germany in the memorable War of Liberation, which we are now approaching.

This uprising of the Prussian nation against Napoleon forms one of the most dramatic passages in the history of the German people.

492. **Napoleon's Invasion of Russia (1812-1813).**— The signal for the general uprising of Germany and the rest of Europe was the terrible misfortune which befell Napoleon in his invasion of Russia. Various circumstances had concurred to weaken the friendship and break the alliance between the Russian Emperor and Napoleon; but the main cause of mutual distrust and alienation was the Continental Blockade. This had inflicted great loss upon Russian trade, and the Tsar had finally refused to carry out Napoleon's decrees, and entered a coalition against France.



FIG. 50. — THE KREMLIN OF MOSCOW. (From a photograph)

Napoleon resolved to force Russia, as he had the rest of Continental Europe, to bow to his will. Gathering contingents from all his vassal states, he crossed the Russian frontier at the head of what was proudly called the Grand Army, numbering upwards of four hundred thousand men. After making a single stand at Smolensk, the Russian army avoided battle, and as it retreated into the interior devastated the country in front of the advancing enemy. Finally, at Borodino, seventy miles from Moscow, the Russians halted and offered battle to cover the city, but in a terribly bloody struggle their resistance was broken and the invaders entered the ancient capital in triumph.

To his astonishment Napoleon found the city practically deserted by its inhabitants; and two days after he had established himself in the empty palace of the Tsar (in the Kremlin), fires, started in some unknown way, broke out simultaneously in

different quarters of the city. The conflagration raged for five days, until the greater part of the city was reduced to ashes.

Napoleon's situation was now critical. He had confidently expected, from his knowledge of the Emperor Alexander, that as soon as the French army was in Moscow he would sue for peace. But to Napoleon's messages Alexander returned for reply that he would not enter into negotiations with him so long as a single French soldier stood upon Russian soil.

In the hope that the Tsar would abandon his heroic resolve, Napoleon lingered about the ruined city until the middle of October, and then finally gave orders for the return march. This delay was a fatal mistake, and resulted in one of the greatest tragedies in history. Before the retreating French columns had covered half the distance to the frontier, the terrible Russian winter was upon them. The sufferings of the ill-clad soldiers were intense. Thousands were frozen to death. The spot of each bivouac was marked by the circle of dead around the watch fires. Sometimes in a single night as many as two or three hundred perished. Thousands more were slain by the peasants and the wild Cossacks, who hovered about the retreating columns and harassed them day and night. The passage of the river Beresina was attended with appalling losses. Soon after the passage of this stream Napoleon, conscious that the fate of his empire depended upon his presence in Paris, left the remnant of the army in charge of his marshals and hurried by post to his capital.

The loss by death of the French and their allies in this disastrous campaign is reckoned at upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand men, while that of the Russians is estimated to have been almost as large.

493. The War of Liberation ; the Battle of Leipzig, the " Battle of the Nations " (Oct. 16-19, 1813).—Napoleon's fortunes were buried with his Grand Army in the snows of Russia. His woeful losses here, taken in connection with his great losses in Spain, encouraged the European powers to think that now they could crush him. A sixth coalition was formed, embracing Russia, Prussia, England, Sweden, and later Austria.

Napoleon made gigantic efforts to prepare for the final struggle. By the spring of 1813 he was at the head of a new army, numbering eventually over three hundred thousand men, — boys we should say, so extremely young were a large number of the fresh recruits. Falling upon the allied armies of the Russians and Prussians, first at Lützen and then at Bautzen, Napoleon gained a decisive victory upon both fields. Austria now appeared in the lists, and at Leipzig, in Saxony, Napoleon was attacked by the leagued armies of Europe. So many were the powers represented upon this renowned field that it is known in history as the "Battle of the Nations." The combat lasted three days. Napoleon was defeated and forced to retreat into France.

The armies of the allies now poured over all the French frontiers. Napoleon's efforts to roll back the tide of invasion were all in vain. Paris surrendered to the allies (March 31, 1814). As the struggle became plainly hopeless, the Emperor's most trusted officers deserted and betrayed him. The French Senate issued a decree deposing him and restoring the throne to the Bourbons. Napoleon was forced to abdicate and was banished to the little island of Elba in the Mediterranean, being permitted to retain his title of Emperor and to keep about him a few of his old guards. But Elba was a very diminutive empire for one to whom the half of Europe had seemed too small, and we shall not be surprised to learn that Napoleon was not content with it.

494. "The Hundred Days" (March 20—June 29, 1815).— Upon invitation of the French Senate the brother of Louis XVI now assumed the crown with the title of Louis XVIII. With this new Bourbon king the allies arranged a treaty,⁶ the shifty Talleyrand, who had earlier served Napoleon, acting as Louis' representative. This treaty gave France the frontiers she had in 1792.

In accordance with a promise he had made, Louis gave France a constitution. Notwithstanding, he acted very much as though his power were unlimited. He styled himself "King of France and Navarre *by the grace of God*." He always alluded to the year in which he began to rule as the nineteenth year of his reign, thus

⁶ First Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814.

affecting to ignore wholly the government of the Republic and the Empire. This excited alarm, because it seemed to question the validity of all that had been done since the execution of Louis XVI. Some, fearing lest the work of the Revolution would be undone, began to desire the return of Napoleon, and the wish was perhaps what gave rise to the report which was spread abroad that he would come back with the spring violets.

In the month of March, 1815, as the commissioners of the various powers were sitting at Vienna rearranging the landmarks and boundaries obliterated by the French inundation, news was brought to them that Napoleon had escaped from Elba and was in France. At first the members of the Congress were incredulous, regarding the thing as a jest, and were with difficulty convinced of the truth of the report.

Taking advantage of the general dissatisfaction with the rule of the restored Bourbons, Napoleon had resolved upon a bold push for the recovery of his crown. Landing with about eight hundred guardsmen at one of the southern ports of France, he aroused all the country with one of his stirring addresses, and then immediately pushed on towards Paris. His journey to the capital was one continuous ovation. One regiment after another, forgetting their recent oath of loyalty to the Bourbons, hastened to join his train. His old generals and soldiers embraced him with transports of joy. Marshal Ney, sent to arrest the Emperor, whom he had promised to bring to Paris in a cage, at the first sight of his old commander threw himself into his arms and pledged him his sword and his life. Louis XVIII, deserted by his army, was left helpless, and, as Napoleon approached the gates of Paris, fled from his throne.

Napoleon desired peace with the sovereigns of Europe; but they did not think the peace of the continent could be maintained so long as he sat upon the French throne. For the seventh and last time the allies leagued their armies against "the disturber of the peace of Europe."

Hoping to overwhelm the armies of the allies by striking them one after another before they had time to unite, Napoleon moved

swiftly into Belgium with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand in order to crush there the English under the Duke of Wellington and the Prussians under Blücher. He first fell in with and defeated the Prussian army, and then faced the English at Waterloo (June 18, 1815).

The story of Waterloo need not be told, — how all day the French broke their columns in vain on the English squares; how, at the critical moment towards the close of the day when Wellington was wishing for Blücher or for night, Blücher with a fresh force of thirty thousand Prussians turned the tide of battle; and how the famous Old Guard, which knew how to die but not how to surrender,⁷ made its last charge and left its hitherto invincible squares upon the lost field.

A second time Napoleon was forced to abdicate,⁸ and a second time Louis XVIII ascended his unstable throne.⁹ Napoleon made his way to the coast, purposing to take ship for the United States; but the way was barred by British watchfulness, and he was constrained to surrender to the commander of the English warship *Bellerophon*. “I come, like Themistocles,” he said, “to throw myself upon the hospitality of the English people.”

But no one believed that Napoleon could safely be left at large, or that his presence anywhere in Europe, even though he were in close confinement, would be consistent with the future security and repose of the continent. Some even urged that he be given up to Louis XVIII to be shot as a rebel and an outlaw. The final decision was that he should be banished to the island of St. Helena, in the South Atlantic. Thither he was carried by the English, and closely guarded by them until his death in 1821.

The story of these last years of Napoleon Bonaparte, as gathered from the companions of his exile, is one of the most

⁷ General Cambronne, the commander of the Guard, when summoned to surrender, is said to have returned this reply: “The Guard dies, but never surrenders.” There is doubt concerning the origin of the famous phrase.

⁸ His abdication was in favor of his little son, whom he proclaimed “Napoleon II, Emperor of the French.”

⁹ The allies now signed with Louis what is known as the Second Treaty of Paris (Nov. 20, 1815). France had now to accept the frontiers which were hers in 1789.

pathetic in all history. At the time of his death he was in his fifty-second year. As a military genius and commander he left a deeper impress upon the imagination of the world, and fills a larger place in history, probably, than any other man who ever lived.

Selections from the Sources. — BOURRIENNE, *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte*. Bourrienne was Bonaparte's schoolfellow and comrade, and then his private secretary from 1796 to 1802. TARBELL, *The Words of Napoleon*; contains interesting selections from Napoleon's addresses and letters. In reading these extracts it should be borne in mind that Napoleon's speeches, like his bulletins, often bore no relation to the actual facts or to his own real thoughts and purposes. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, chaps. xxxvii (last part) and xxxviii.

Secondary Works. — Among the numerous biographies of Napoleon the following possess special merit and authority: FOURNIER, A., *Napoleon the First*; JOHNSTON, R. M., *Napoleon*; ROSE, J. H., *The Life of Napoleon I*, 2 vols.; SLOANE, W. M., *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, 4 vols.; LANFREY, P., *The History of Napoleon the First*, 4 vols. (left incomplete by the death of the author); SEELEY, J. R., *Napoleon the First*; ROPES, J. C., *The First Napoleon*; and vol. ix (Napoleon) of *The Cambridge Modern History*. Lanfrey makes the Emperor the subject of bitter reproach. One of the best extended histories of the Napoleonic period is THIERS, L. A., *History of the Consulate and the Empire*, 12 vols. Excellent short accounts are STEPHENS, H. MORSE, *Revolutionary Europe, 1789-1815*, chaps. vii-xi; ROSE, J. H., *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, last part, chap. vii; and ANDREWS, C. M., *The Historical Development of Europe*, vol. i, chap. ii.

Works dealing with special phases of the history of the period: MAHAN, A. T., *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, vol. ii; SEELEY, J. R., *Life and Times of Stein*, 2 vols.; and BIGELOW, P., *History of the German Struggle for Liberty*, 3 vols. See also LORD ROSEBURY, *Napoleon: the Last Phase*; on the Emperor's imprisonment at St. Helena.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The sale of Louisiana to the United States. 2. The Civil Code. 3. Execution of the Duke of Enghien. 4. The Congress at Erfurt. 5. Baron vom Stein and his reforms. 6. Napoleon at St. Helena. 7. Queen Louise of Prussia. See Mary McArthur Tuttle's *The Mother of an Emperor*.

III. THE RESTORATION OF 1815 AND THE DEMOCRATIC REACTION: THE SEQUEL TO THE REVOLUTION (1815-1906)

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND THE HOLY ALLIANCE

495. Ideas bequeathed by the French Revolution to the Nineteenth Century. — The social and political history of Europe since the overthrow of Napoleon is the sequel of the history of the great social and political upheaval which we have been witnessing. The dominant forces at work throughout this period have been the ideas or principles inherited from the French Revolution.

There were three of these ideas, with which, as revolutionary forces in history, we have already become familiar in tracing the story of the Revolution and the Empire. The first was the idea or principle of equality ; the second, that of the sovereignty of the people ; the third, that of nationality. These principles or ideas, as we have said, were the precious political heritage which the nineteenth century received from the Revolution. But these ideas have not had free course. They have come into conflict with certain opposing doctrines with which they have had to struggle for supremacy. And this brings us to the starting point of the history of the last century, — the celebrated Congress of Vienna.

496. The Congress of Vienna (September, 1814-June, 1815). — After the first abdication of Napoleon, as we have seen, the European sovereigns, either in person or by their representatives, met at Vienna to readjust the affairs of the Continent. As we shall hereafter, in connection with the history of the separate

European countries, have occasion to say something respecting the relations of each to the Congress, we shall here say only a word regarding the spirit and temper of the assembly and the general character of its work.

The Vienna commissioners seemed to have but one thought and aim, — to restore everything as nearly as possible to its condition before the Revolution. The principle of nationality was wholly ignored, while that of the sovereignty of the people was, by most of the plenipotentiaries, looked upon as a principle of disorder to be repressed in every possible way.

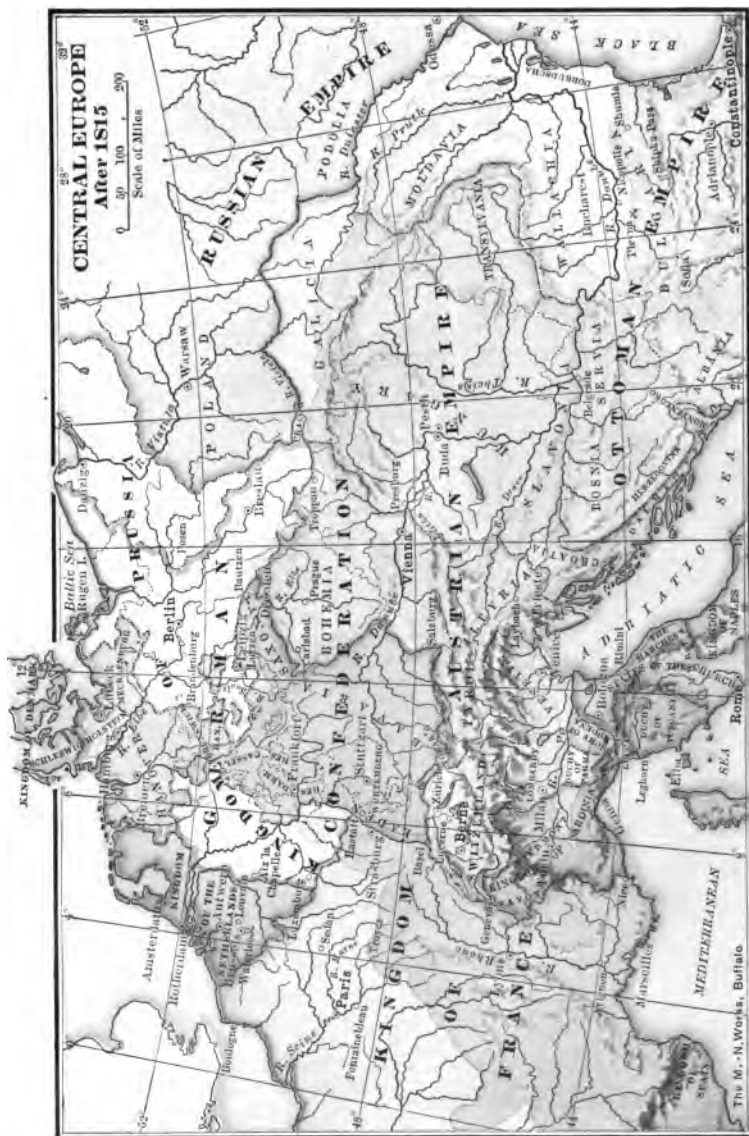
In making distribution of the territories recovered from Napoleon, the Vienna map makers took no account of the rights and claims of race or nationality. The inhabitants of the countries available for division were apportioned among the different sovereigns exactly as a herd of cattle might be divided up and apportioned among different owners. Thus the Belgian and Dutch provinces were united into a single state, which under the name of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was given to a prince of the House of Orange.

A great part of what had been Poland was made into a subject kingdom of the Russian Empire. The Poles were informed that they must give up all thought and hope of the restoration of their national independence.¹

Lombardy and Venetia in Upper Italy, along with other lands, were given to Austria. This extension of Austrian rule over Italian lands was one of the grossest violations of the principles of nationality of which the Congress was guilty, and was to be signally avenged when the hour for Italian unity and independence arrived.

The principle of popular sovereignty was treated with like disregard. The restored rulers were for the most part the old pre-revolutionary despots come to their own again. Their desire was

¹ Sweden was confirmed in the possession of Norway, which Denmark lost as a consequence of her alliance with Napoleon. The two countries were to form a dual monarchy, each having its own Parliament, or Diet, but united under a single crown. This arrangement subsisted until 1905, when Norway declared the union dissolved, and, choosing Prince Charles of Denmark as king, became an independent kingdom.



to rule in the old arbitrary way; but there were those among them who realized that the old absolutism could not with safety be reëstablished. Hence constitutions were talked about. Louis XVIII had been required by the terms of the treaties of Paris to give France a constitution, the allies understanding perfectly that if the restored Bourbons should attempt to rule as absolute sovereigns there would be trouble again which would unsettle everything in Europe. But the only states, besides France, which at this time actually received constitutions were the minor states of the Netherlands, Switzerland, Poland, and Norway. Practically the old régime of absolutism was almost everywhere reëstablished.

But the Revolution had impaired beyond restoration reverence for the divine right of kings. An attempt to restore autocratic government in Europe was an attempt to restore an outgrown cult, — to set up again the fallen Dagon in his place. Notwithstanding, the commissioners at Vienna, blind to the spirit and tendencies of the times, did set up once more the broken idol, — only, however, to see it flung down again by the memorable political upheavals of the next half century. The kings had had their Congress; the people were to have theirs, — in 1820 and '30 and '48.

497. Prince Metternich and the Holy Alliance. — The spirit of the monarchical restoration of 1815 was incarnate in the celebrated Austrian minister, Prince Metternich.

This man hated the Revolution, which to him was the spirit of evil let loose in the world. The demand of the people for a share in government he regarded as presumptuous, and was wholly convinced that any concession to their demands could result in nothing save horrible confusion and bloodshed. Metternich exerted a vast influence upon the history of the years from 1815 to 1848. This period might appropriately be called the Age of Metternich.

The activity of Metternich during the earlier portion of the period of his ascendancy was closely connected with a celebrated league known as the Holy Alliance. This was a religious league formed just after the fall of Napoleon by the Tsar Alexander and

having as its chief members Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The ostensible object of the league was the maintenance of religion, peace, and order in Europe and the reduction to practice in politics of the maxims of Christ. The several sovereigns entering the union promised to be fathers to their people, to rule in love and with reference solely to the promotion of the welfare of their subjects.

All this had a very millennial look. But the Holy Alliance very soon became practically a league for the maintenance of absolute principles of government, in opposition to the liberal tendencies of the age. Under the pretext of maintaining religion, justice, and order, the sovereigns of the union acted in concert to suppress every movement for political liberty among their subjects.

Selections from the Sources. — *Memoirs of Prince Metternich* (trans. by Mrs. Alexander Napier), vol. ii, pp. 553-599, and vols. iii-v. These volumes cover the years from 1815 to 1829. They are of the first importance for this period. FORD, *Life and Letters of Madame Krüdener*. This work lights up a remarkable passage in the life of the Russian Emperor Alexander I, and reveals the genesis of the Holy Alliance. *Translations and Reprints*, vol. i, No. 3, "The Restoration and the European Policy of Metternich."

Secondary Works. — Among the great number of works on nineteenth-century history the following are among the best of those in English which present in brief survey the whole or some considerable part of the history of the period: FYFFE, C. A., *A History of Modern Europe, 1792-1878* (Popular Edition); PHILLIPS, W. A., *Modern Europe, 1815-1899*; ANDREWS, C. M., *The Historical Development of Modern Europe*, 2 vols.; SEIGNOBOS, C., *A Political History of Europe since 1814*; WHITCOMB, M., *A History of Modern Europe*; ROBINSON, J. H., *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe*; MULLER, W., *Political History of Recent Times*; and JUDSON, H., *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*.

Biographies and works dealing with some particular subject or some limited portion of the nineteenth century: STEPHENS, H. MORSE, *Revolutionary Europe, 1789-1815*, "Introduction," for suggestive paragraphs on the principles which have molded nineteenth-century history, and chap. xi, for the Congress of Vienna; MALLESON, G. B., *Life of Prince Metternich*; LOWELL, A. L., *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, 2 vols.; and ROSE, J. H., *The Development of the European Nations*, 2 vols.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Prince Metternich and his system.
2. Madame Krüdener and the Tsar Alexander I.

CHAPTER XXXV

FRANCE SINCE THE SECOND RESTORATION

(1815-1906)

498. The Reign of Louis XVIII (1815[14]-1824). — "Your king, whose fathers reigned over your fathers for more than eight centuries, now returns to devote the rest of his days to defend and to comfort you." Such were the words used by Louis upon his second return to his people after Waterloo. The events of the Hundred Days had instructed and humbled him. Profiting by his experience, Louis ruled throughout a great part of the remainder of his reign with reasonable heed to the changes effected by the Revolution. But as he grew old and infirm he yielded more and more to the extreme Royalist party, which was again raising its head, and the government entered upon a course looking to the restoration of the old order of things.

499. The Reign of Charles X (1824-1830); **the Revolution of 1830.** — Upon the death of Louis in 1824 and the accession of Charles X, this reactionary policy soon became more pronounced. The new king seemed utterly incapable of profiting by the teachings of the past. It was particularly his blind, stubborn course that gave point to the saying, "A Bourbon learns nothing and forgets nothing."

It is not necessary for our purpose that we rehearse in detail what Charles did or what he failed to do. His aim was to undo the work of the Revolution, just as it was the aim of James II in England to undo the work of the Puritan Revolution. He disregarded the constitution, restored the clergy to power, re-established a strict censorship of the press, and changed the laws by royal proclamation. He seemed bent on restoring divine-right monarchy in France. He declared that he would rather saw wood for a living than rule after the fashion of the English kings.

The outcome might have been foreseen. Paris rose in revolt. Charles was escorted to the seacoast, whence he took ship for England.

France did not at this time think of a republic. She was inclined to try further the experiment of a constitutional monarchy. Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who represented the younger branch of the Bourbon family, was placed on the throne and the constitution was revised. In the charter which Louis XVIII had granted he had styled himself "*King of France by the grace of God.*" The new constitution declared Louis Philippe to be "*King of the French by the grace of God and by the will of the nation.*" The first principle of the Revolution — the sovereignty of the people — was thus embodied in the fundamental law of France.

500. Effect upon Europe of the "July Revolution" of 1830; Origin of the Kingdom of Belgium. — The convulsion in Paris shook all the restored thrones, and for a moment threatened to topple into ruins the whole fabric of absolutism that had been so carefully upreared by the Congress of Vienna. In the Netherlands the artificial order established in 1815 (sec. 496) was wholly destroyed. The Belgians arose, declared themselves independent of Holland, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as their king (1831). Thus came into existence the separate kingdom of Belgium.

501. The Revolution of 1848 and the Establishment of the Second Republic. — The reign of Louis Philippe up to 1848 was very unquiet, yet was not marked by any disturbance of great importance. But during all this time the ideas of the Revolution were working among the people, and the democratic party was constantly gaining in strength. Finally there came a demand for the extension of the suffrage. At this time there were only about two hundred thousand voters in France, the possession of a certain amount of property being required as a qualification for the franchise. The government steadily refused all electoral reforms. Guizot, the king's chief minister, declared that "this world is no place for universal suffrage."

There came an uprising like that of 1830. The center of this disturbance, of course, was Paris. Louis Philippe fled to England. After his departure the Paris mob dragged the throne out of the Tuileries and made a bonfire of it.

The Second Republic was now set up. A new constitution established universal suffrage. An election being ordered, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a nephew of the great Napoleon, was chosen President of the new Republic (Dec. 10, 1848).

The Paris "February Revolution," as it is called, lighted the beacon fires of liberty throughout Europe. "It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, during the month of March, 1848, not a single day passed without a constitution being granted somewhere."

502. The Second Empire (1852-1870).—The life of the Second Republic spanned only three years. By almost exactly the same steps as those by which his uncle had mounted the imperial throne, Louis Napoleon now also ascended to the imperial dignity, crushing the Republic as he rose.

A contest having arisen between the President and the National Assembly, the President planned a *coup d'état*,—a second Eighteenth Brumaire (sec. 466). He caused the arrest at night of the most prominent of the deputies opposed to him in the Assembly and dissolved that body. His appeal to the people to indorse what he had done met with a most extraordinary response. By a majority of almost seven million votes¹ the nation approved the President's *coup d'état* and rewarded him for it by extending his term of office to ten years. This was in effect the revival



FIG. 51:—NAPOLEON III
(After a portrait by F. Winterhalter)

¹ The exact vote was 7,481,216 to 684,419.

of the Consulate of 1799. The next year Louis Napoleon was made Emperor, and took the title of Napoleon III (1852).

As the Second and the Third Republic were simply revivals and continuations of the First Republic, so was the Second Empire merely the revival and continuation of the First Empire. It was virtually the same in origin, in spirit, and in policy.

Louis Napoleon had declared that the Empire meant peace. But it meant anything except that. The pages of its history are filled with the records of wars. There were three important ones in which the armies of the Empire took part, — the Crimean War (1853–1856), the Austro-Sardinian War (1859), and the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). The first two of these wars need not detain us at this time, since we shall speak of them later in connection with Russian and Italian affairs.²

The real cause of the third war, the one between Prussia and France, was French jealousy of the growing power of Prussia (sec. 546). With everything in a state of culpable and incredible unreadiness, France, "with a light heart," plunged into the fateful struggle. The French had no other thought than that their armies would repeat the campaign of Jena and Auerstädt (sec. 479). "Down with Prussia! On to Berlin!" was the cry. There came a quick and terrible disillusionment. In a few days after the French declaration of war the great German hosts had been gathered. Three immense armies, numbering half a million of men, all animated by the spirit of 1813, swept over the frontier. One large French army was defeated in the memorable battle of Gravelotte (August 18, 1870) and shut up in Metz. Then followed the surrender at Sedan, where eighty-three thousand men, including the Emperor himself, gave themselves up as prisoners of war³ (Sept. 2, 1870).

The German columns now advanced to Paris and began the investment of the city (Sept. 19, 1870). All reasonable hope of a successful defense of the capital was soon destroyed by the

² See secs. 531 and 552.

³ After the war Louis Napoleon found an asylum in England (at Chiselhurst), where he died Jan. 9, 1873.

surrender to the Germans of Marshal Bazaine at Metz (Oct. 23, 1870). One hundred and seventy-three thousand soldiers and six thousand officers became prisoners of war, — the largest army ever taken captive. But Paris held out stubbornly, with great suffering from cold and hunger, three months longer; and then, all outside measures for raising the siege having failed, capitulated (Jan. 30, 1871). The terms of the treaty that followed were that France should surrender to Germany the Rhenish province of Alsace and one half of Lorraine, and pay an indemnity of five thousand million francs (about \$1,000,000,000). Never before was such a ransom paid by a nation.

The Red Republicans, or Communists, of Paris, indignant at the terms of the treaty, organized a Committee of Public Safety in imitation of that of 1793, and called the population of the capital to arms. The government finally succeeded in suppressing the insurgents, though only after the destruction by fire of many public buildings, and frightful slaughters in the streets and squares of the city.

503. The Third Republic (1870—).—The Third Republic was now organized. M. Thiers, the historian, became its first President. France has now (1906) been under the government of the Third Republic for thirty-six years, a longer period of freedom from revolution than any other since 1792. The current of political events, however, has during this time run somewhat turbulently. There have been many changes of presidents⁴ and of ministries, and much party rancor has been displayed; yet in spite of all untoward circumstances the cause of the Republic has steadily advanced, while that of the Monarchy and that of the Empire have as steadily gone backward. Bourbons and Bonapartes, like Stuarts, have gone into an exile from which there is no return.

Many of the difficulties and problems which have confronted the Republic were legacies to it from the Monarchy and the

⁴ These are the presidents of the Republic since the resignation of Thiers in 1873: Marshal MacMahon (resigned), 1873-1879; M. Grévy (resigned), 1879-1887; M. Carnot (assassinated), 1887-1894; M. Casimir-Périer (resigned), 1894-1895; M. Félix Faure (died in office), 1895-1899; M. Loubet (1899-1906); and M. Clément Armand Fallières (1906—).

Empire, or more directly from the Franco-Prussian War. One unfortunate heritage from the war that destroyed the Empire is the Alsace and Lorraine question. The French people have never been able to reconcile themselves to the loss of these provinces, and their determination to regain them has contributed largely to convert France, and the whole Continent as well, into a permanent armed camp, and to make times of peace almost as burdensome to the nations as times of war.

A second legacy to the Republic was influential parties of Monarchists and Imperialists, who have endeavored in every way to discredit the republican régime, and who have watched for an opportunity to set up again either the Monarchy or the Empire. The dangerous intrigues of these parties led in 1886 to the expulsion from France of all the Bourbon and Bonaparte claimants of the throne and their direct heirs.

As to the part which France as a Republic has taken in recent colonial enterprises, particularly in the opening up to civilization of the continent of Africa, we shall find it more convenient to speak in another connection (secs. 564 and 565).

Selections from the Sources.—FORBES, *My Experience of the War between France and Germany*. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, chap. xxxix, pp. 536-542. For material for a systematic study of the period, the special student should turn to ANDERSON, *Constitutions and Other Select Documents*.

Secondary Works.—In most of the works cited for the preceding chapter will be found chapters and sections dealing with French affairs during the period under review. To these authorities add the following: MARTIN, H., *A Popular History of France*, vols. ii (last part) and iii; DICKINSON, G. L., *Revolution and Reaction in Modern France*; and LEBON, A., and PELET, P., *France as it Is*.

For the Second Empire: JERROLD, B., *The Life of Napoleon III*, 4 vols., and FORBES, A., *The Life of Napoleon the Third*. For brief summaries of the events of the period: LEBON, A., *Modern France*, chaps. viii-xvi; ADAMS, G. B., *The Growth of the French Nation*, chap. xviii; and HASSALL, A., *The French People*, chaps. xviii-xxi and xxjii.

Topics for Class Reports.—1. Alfred Dreyfus. 2. Ferdinand de Lesseps and the Panama Canal. 3. France and the Vatican.

CHAPTER XXXVI

ENGLAND SINCE THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO

(1815-1906)

504. The Three Chief Matters. — English history during the nineteenth century embraces a multitude of events. A short chapter covering the period will possess no instructive value unless it reduces this mass of facts to some sort of unity by placing events in relation with their causes, and thus shows how they are connected with a few broad movements or tendencies.

Studying the period in this way, we shall find that very many of its leading events may be summed up under the three following heads: (1) progress towards democracy; (2) extension of the principle of religious equality; and (3) the growth of the British colonial empire.¹

We shall attempt nothing more in the present chapter than to indicate the most prominent matters that should claim the student's attention along the first two lines of inquiry, reserving for later sections the consideration of England's colonial affairs.

I. PROGRESS TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

505. Introductory. — The English Revolution of 1688 transferred authority from the king to the Parliament. The elective branch of that body, however, rested upon a very narrow electoral basis. Out of upwards of five million Englishmen who should have had a voice in the government, less than two hundred thousand were voters, and these were chiefly of the rich upper classes. The political democratizing of England during the nineteenth

¹ A fourth line of study which also touches matters of importance is England's relations with Ireland. This topic embraces such matters as the following: the union of the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801; the agitation under O'Connell for the Repeal of the Union; the Irish land laws; the Home Rule movement, etc.

century consists in the giving to every intelligent and honest man a share in the government under which he lives.

506. Effects of the French Revolution upon Liberalism in England; Reform versus Revolution. — The French Revolution at first gave a fresh impulse to liberal tendencies. The English Liberals watched the course of the French Republicans with the deepest interest and sympathy. It will be recalled how the statesman Fox rejoiced at the fall of the Bastille, and what auguries of hope he saw in that event (sec. 430). The young writers, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey, were all infected with democratic sentiments and inspired with a generous enthusiasm for political liberty and equality. But the wild excesses of the French levelers terrified the English Liberals. There was a sudden revulsion of feeling. Liberal sentiments were denounced as dangerous and revolutionary. But in a few years after the downfall of Napoleon the terrors of the French Revolution were forgotten. Liberal sentiments began to spread among the masses. The people very justly complained that, while the English government claimed to be a government of the people, they had no part in it.

Now it is instructive to note the different ways in which Liberalism was dealt with by the English government and by the rulers on the Continent. In the Continental countries the rising spirit of democracy was met by cruel and despotic repression. We have seen the result of this policy in France, and later shall see the outcome of it in other Continental countries. Liberalism triumphed indeed at last, but triumphed only through revolution.

In England the government did not resist the popular demands to the point of revolution. It made timely concessions to the growing spirit of democracy. Hence here, instead of a series of revolutions, we have a series of reform measures which, gradually popularizing the House of Commons, at last rendered the English nation, not alone in name but in reality, a self-governing people.

507. The Reform Bill of 1832. — The first Parliamentary step in reform was taken in 1832. To understand this important act a glance backward becomes necessary.

When, in 1265, the Commons were first admitted to Parliament, members were called only from those cities and boroughs whose wealth and population fairly entitled them to representation. In the course of time some of these places dwindled in population and new towns sprang up; yet the decayed boroughs retained their ancient privilege of sending members to Parliament, while the new towns were left entirely without representation. Thus Old Sarum, an ancient town now utterly decayed and without a single inhabitant, was represented in the Commons by two members. Furthermore the sovereign, for the purpose of gaining influence in the Commons, had, from time to time, given unimportant places the right of returning members to the Lower House. It was inevitable that elections in these small or "pocket boroughs," as they were called, should often be determined by the corrupt influence of the crown or of the great landowners. The Lower House of Parliament was thus filled with the friends of the king, or with nominees of territorial magnates. At the same time such large, recently grown manufacturing towns as Birmingham, Leeds, and Manchester had no representation at all in the Commons.

Agitation was begun for the reform of this corrupt and farcical system of representation. The contest between Whigs and Tories, or Liberals and Conservatives, was long and bitter, the Conservatives opposing all reform and denying that there was any necessity for it. At last public feeling became so strong and menacing that the Lords, who were blocking the measure in the Upper House, were forced to yield, and the Reform Bill of 1832 became a law. By this act the English electoral system was radically changed. Eighty-six of the "rotten boroughs" were disfranchised or semi-disfranchised, and the hundred and forty-two seats in the Lower House taken from them were given to different counties and to large towns hitherto unrepresented. The bill also somewhat increased the number of electors by extending the right of voting to all persons in the towns owning or leasing property of a certain value, and by lowering the property qualification of voters in the counties.

The importance of this reform bill can hardly be exaggerated. It is the Magna Carta of English political democracy.²

508. The Municipal Reform Act of 1835. — The government of the English towns of this period needed reform as urgently as had the British Parliament. This municipal system was a system inherited from the Middle Ages. Most of the towns were ruled by corrupt oligarchies. Long agitation for their overthrow resulted in the passing of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. This act accomplished for the government of the cities what the Reform Bill of 1832 had effected for the general government of the kingdom.

509. Chartism: the Revolutionary Year of 1848. — Although the Reform Bill of 1832 was almost revolutionary in the principle it established, still it went only a little way in the application of that principle. It admitted to the franchise the middle classes only. The great laboring class were given no part in the government. They now began an agitation, characterized by much bitterness, known as Chartism, from a document called the "People's Charter," which embodied the reforms they desired. Among these were universal suffrage and vote by ballot.

The agitation went on with more or less violence until 1848, in which year, encouraged by the revolutions then shaking almost every throne on the European continent, the Chartists indulged in riotous demonstrations, which frightened the law-abiding citizens and brought discredit upon themselves. Their organization now fell to pieces. The reforms, however, which they had labored

² The reform of the House of Commons gave an impulse to legislation of an humanitarian and popular character. In 1833 an act was passed in the British Commons for the abolition of slavery. Nearly 800,000 slaves, chiefly in the British West Indies, were freed at a cost to the English nation of £20,000,000. This same year (1833) the first effective Factory Act was passed. This was the beginning of a long series of laws which gradually corrected the almost incredible abuses, particularly in connection with the employment of children, which had crept into the English factory system. A similar series of laws regulated labor in the mines. Also this same year Parliament voted an annual grant of £20,000 to aid in the erection of school-houses. This was the first step taken by the English government in the promotion of public education. In 1846 England, by the repeal of her "corn laws," abandoned the commercial policy of protection, which favored the great landowners, and adopted that of free trade. The chief advocates of this important measure were Richard Cobden and John Bright.

to secure, were, in the main, desirable and just, and the most important of them have since been adopted and made a part of the English constitution.

510. The Reform Bill of 1867 and the Education Act of 1870.

— The Reform Bill of 1867 was simply another step taken by England in the direction of the Reform Bill of 1832. Like that measure, it was passed only after long and violent agitation and discussion both without and within the walls of Parliament. The main effect of the bill was the extension of the right of voting, — the enfranchisement of the great “fourth estate.”

As after the Reform Bill of 1832, so now the attention of Parliament was directed to the matter of public instruction; for all recognized that universal education must go along with universal suffrage. Three years after the passage of this second reform bill Parliament passed an education act (1870) which aimed to provide an elementary education for every child in the British Isles by investing the local authorities with power to establish and maintain schools and compel the attendance of the children.

511. The Reform Bill of 1884. — One of the Conservative leaders, the Earl of Derby, in the discussions upon the Reform Bill of 1867, said, “No doubt we are making a great experiment, and taking a leap in the dark.” Just seventeen years after the passage of that bill the English people were ready to take another leap. But they were not now leaping in the dark. The wisdom and safety of admitting the lower classes to a share in the government had been demonstrated.

In 1884 Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, introduced and pushed to a successful vote a new reform bill more radical and sweeping in its provisions than any preceding one. It increased the number of voters from about three millions to five millions. The qualification of voters in the counties was made the same as that required of voters in the boroughs. Hence its effect was to enfranchise the great agricultural classes.

512. The Reform of Rural Local Government. — Parliament and the government of the municipalities were now fairly democratized. The rural districts were the last to feel the influence of

the liberal movement; but it finally reached these, and the work of democratic reconstruction has been rounded out and completed by different acts of Parliament, which have put more directly into the hands of the people of each of the smaller subdivisions of the realm the management of their local affairs.

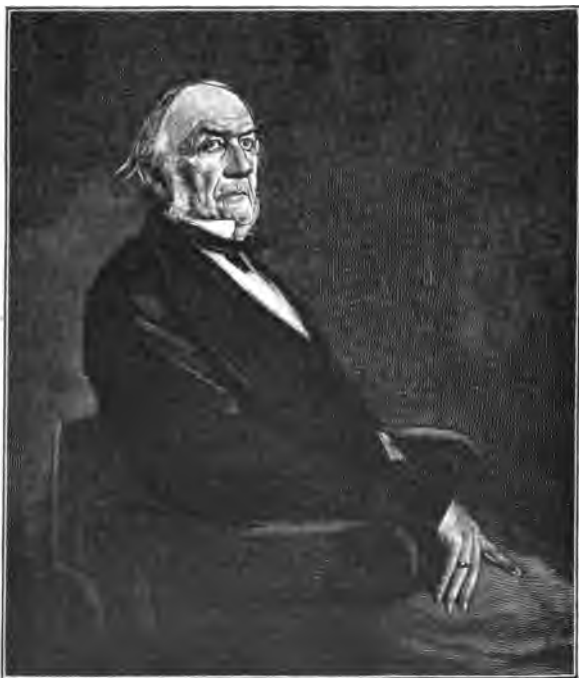


FIG. 52. — WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE. (After a painting by *Franz von Lenbach*)

513. Only the Forms of Monarchy remain. — The English government in its local as well as in its national branches is now in reality as democratic as our own. Only the forms of the aristocratic monarchy remain. It does not seem possible that these, in spite of the English love of ancient forms, can long withstand the encroachments of democracy. Hereditary right and

privilege, as represented by the House of Lords and the Crown, must in time be abolished. Even now whenever the Lords attempt to thwart the will of the Commons there are ominous threats of abolishing the Upper House, as at present constituted.

II. EXTENSION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF RELIGIOUS EQUALITY

514. Religious Freedom and Religious Equality. — Alongside the political movement traced in the preceding section ran a similar one in the religious realm. This was a growing recognition by the English people of the true principle of religious toleration.

At the opening of the nineteenth century there was in England religious freedom, but no religious equality. That is to say, one might be a Catholic or a Protestant dissenter without fear of persecution. Dissent from the Established Church was not unlawful; but one's being a Catholic or a Protestant nonconformist disqualified him from holding certain public offices. Where there exists such discrimination against any religious sect, or where any one sect is sustained by the government, there of course is no religious *equality*, although there may be religious *freedom*.

Progress in this direction, then, will consist in the removal of all civil disabilities from Catholics, Protestant dissenters, and Jews, and the placing of all sects on an absolute equality before the law.

515. Methodism and its Effects upon Toleration. — One thing that helped to bring prominently forward the question of emancipating nonconformists from the civil disabilities under which they were placed, was the great religious movement known as Methodism. By vastly increasing the body of Protestant dissenters, Methodism gave new strength to the agitation for the repeal of the laws which bore so heavily upon them. So now began a series of legislative acts which made a more and more perfect application of the principle of religious equality. We can refer to only two or three of the most important of these measures.

516. Disabilities removed from Protestant Dissenters (1828). — One of the earliest and most important of the acts of Parliament

in this century in recognition of the principle of religious equality was the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, in so far as they bore upon Protestant dissenters. These were acts passed in the reign of Charles II, which required every officer of a corporation, and all persons holding civil and military positions, to take certain oaths and partake of the communion according to the rites of the Anglican Church. It is true that these laws were not now strictly enforced; nevertheless the laws were invidious and vexatious, and the Protestant dissenters demanded their repeal.

Those opposed to the repeal argued that the principle of religious toleration did not require it. They insisted that, where every one has perfect freedom of worship, it is no infringement of the principle of toleration for the government to refuse to employ as a public servant one who dissents from the State Church. The result of the debate in Parliament was the repeal of such parts of the ancient acts as it was necessary to rescind in order to relieve Protestant dissenters.

517. Disabilities removed from the Catholics (1829).—The bill of 1828 gave no relief to Catholics. They were still excluded from Parliament and various civil offices by the declarations of belief and the oaths required of officeholders, — declarations and oaths which no good Catholic could conscientiously make. They now demanded that the same concessions be made them that had been granted Protestant dissenters. A threatened revolt on the part of the Irish Catholics hurried through Parliament the progress of what was known as the Catholic Emancipation Act. This law opened Parliament and all the offices of the kingdom, below the Crown, — save that of Regent, of Lord High Chancellor of England and Ireland, of Lord Deputy of Ireland, and a few others, — to the Catholic subjects of the realm.

518. Disabilities removed from the Jews (1858).—Persons professing the Jewish religion were still laboring under all the disabilities which had now been removed from Protestant dissenters and Catholics. In 1858 an act (Jewish Relief Act) was passed by Parliament which so changed the oath required of a person taking office — the oath contained the words, “Upon the true faith of a

Christian" — as to open all public positions, except a few special offices, to persons of the Jewish faith.

519. Disestablishment of the Irish Church (1869).—Forty years after the Catholic Emancipation Act the English government took another great step in the direction of religious equality by the disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland.

The Irish have always and steadily refused to accept the religion which their English conquerors have somehow felt constrained to try to force upon them. The vast majority of the people are to-day, and ever have been, Catholics; yet up to the time where we have now arrived these Irish Catholics had been compelled to pay tithes and fees for the maintenance among them of the Anglican Church worship. Meanwhile their own churches, in which the great masses were instructed and cared for spiritually, had to be kept up by voluntary contributions.

The proposal to do away with this grievance by the disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland was bitterly opposed by the Con-

servatives, headed by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli; but at length, after a memorable debate, the Liberals, under the lead of Bright and Gladstone, the latter then Prime Minister, carried the measure. This was in 1869, but the actual disestablishment was not to take place until the year 1871, at which time the



FIG. 53.— LORD BEACONSFIELD (DISRAELI), "THE COURTIER PREMIER."
(From the monument in Westminster Abbey)

Irish Church, ceasing to exist as a state institution, became a free Episcopal Church.

520. Proposed Disestablishment of the State Church in England, Scotland, and Wales. — The principle of religious equality demands, in the opinion of many Liberals, the disestablishment likewise of the State Church in England, Scotland,⁸ and Wales. They feel that for the government to maintain any particular sect is to give the state a monopoly in religion. They would have the churches of all denominations placed on an absolute equality. Especially in Scotland and Wales is the sentiment in favor of disestablishment very strong.

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⁸ The Established Church in Scotland is the Presbyterian.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE LIBERATION AND UNIFICATION OF ITALY

521. Italy at the Downfall of Napoleon. — The Italian peoples, as being the most dangerously infected with the ideas of the Revolution, were, by the reactionary Congress of Vienna, condemned to the most strict and ignominious slavery. The former republics were not allowed to restore their ancient institutions, while the petty principalities were handed over in almost every case to the tyrants or to the heirs of the tyrants who had ruled them before the Revolution.

Austria, as has already been stated, appropriated Venetia and Lombardy, and from Northern Italy assumed to direct the affairs of the whole peninsula (sec. 496). Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Lucca were given to princes of the House of Hapsburg. Naples was restored to its old Bourbon rulers. The Pope and Victor Emmanuel I, king of Sardinia (Piedmont), were the only native rulers, but they also were absolutists. The Italians were thus made "a Helot nation." Italy, in the words of Metternich, was merely "a geographical expression."

But the Revolution had sown the seeds of liberty, and time only was needed for their maturing. The Cisalpine, Ligurian, Parthenopean, and Tiberine republics, short-lived though they were, had awakened in the people an aspiration for self-government; while Napoleon's kingdom of Italy, though equally delusive, had nevertheless inspired thousands of Italian patriots with the sentiment of national unity. Thus the French Revolution, disappointing as seemed its issue, really imparted to Italy her first impulse in the direction of freedom and national organization.

522. Arbitrary Rule of the Restored Princes. — The setting up of the overturned thrones meant, of course, the reinstating of the old tyrannies. The restored despots came back with an implacable hatred of everything French. The liberal constitutions of

the revolutionary period were set aside, and all French institutions that were supposed to tend in the least to Liberalism were swept away.

In Sardinia, King Victor Emmanuel I, the "royal Rip Van Winkle," instituted a most extreme reactionary policy. Nothing that bore the French stamp, nothing that had been set up by French hands, was allowed to remain. Even the French furniture in the royal palace at Turin was thrown out of the windows, and the French plants in the royal gardens were pulled up root and branch.

523. The Carbonari: Uprising of 1820-1821.—The natural results of the arbitrary rule of the restored princes was deep and widespread discontent. An old secret organization, the members of which were known as the *Carbonari* (charcoal burners), formed the nucleus about which gathered the elements of disaffection.

In 1820, incited by the revolution in Spain, the *Carbonari* raised an insurrection in Naples and forced King Ferdinand to grant his Neapolitan subjects a liberal constitution. But Prince Metternich, who had been watching the doings of the Neapolitans, interfered to mar their plans. Sixty thousand Austrian troops were sent to crush the revolutionary movement, the constitution was suppressed, Ferdinand was reinstated in his former absolute authority, and everything was put back on the old footing.

Meanwhile a similar revolution was running its course in Piedmont. King Victor Emmanuel I, rather than yield to the demands of his people for a constitution, gave up his crown and was succeeded by his brother Charles Felix, who, by threatening to call to his aid the Austrian army, compelled his subjects to cease their clamor about kings ruling not by the grace of God but by the will of the people.

The suppression of the Liberal uprisings seemed to Metternich the sure pledge of divine favor. He writes exultantly: "I see the dawn of a better day. . . . Heaven seems to will that the world should not be lost."

524. The Revolution of 1830-1831.—For just ten years all Italy lay in sullen vassalage to Austria. Then the revolutionary

years of 1830-1831 witnessed a repetition of the scenes of 1820-1821. The center of the revolution was the Papal States. But the presence of Austrian troops, who, "true to their old principle of hurrying with their extinguishers to any spot in Italy where a crater opened," had poured into Central Italy, resulted in the speedy quenching of the flames of the insurrection.

525. The Three Parties. — Twice now had Austrian armies defeated the aspirations of the Italians for national unity and freedom. Italian hatred of these foreign intermeddlers who were causing them to miss their destiny grew ever more intense, and "Death to the Germans!" as the Austrians were called, became the watch cry that united all the peoples of the peninsula.

But, while united in their fierce hatred of the Austrians, the Italians were divided in their views respecting the best plan for national organization. One party wanted a confederation of the various states; a second party wished to see Italy a constitutional monarchy with the king of Sardinia at its head; while still a third, known as "Young Italy," wanted a republic.

526. Joseph Mazzini, the Patriot and Prophet. — The leader of the third or republican party was the patriot Joseph Mazzini. Mazzini was not a narrow nationalist. He recognized the universal character of the democratic revolution. The people were oppressed not only in Italy but in Spain, in Hungary, in Poland, in Russia, in Turkey, — almost everywhere, in truth. Their cause was a common cause. In opposition to the Holy Alliance of the princes formed with aim to oppress, there must be a Holy Alliance of the peoples formed with aim to emancipate. The French Revolution, he said, had proclaimed the liberty, equality, and fraternity of individual men; the new revolution should proclaim the liberty, equality, and fraternity of nations.

In this great work of the emancipation and unification of the world, Italy was to be head and guide of the nations. To her this post of leadership was assigned by virtue of her leadership in the past. Once pagan Rome organized and ruled the world. Then papal Rome organized and ruled it for a thousand years. Now a third world union was to be formed, and of this union of

the free and federated nations Italy, Italy as a republic, was to be center and head. The first Rome was the Rome of the Cæsars ; the second was the Rome of the Popes ; the third was to be the Rome of the Italian People.

Such was Mazzini's interpretation of the drama of world history. Such was his splendid ideal. Through kindling the enthusiasm of the Italian youth, awakening the sentiment of patriotism, and keeping alive the spirit of insurrection, Mazzini rendered a great service to the cause of Italian liberation and union.

527. The Revolution of 1848-1849. — After the suppression of the uprising of 1830 until the approach of the memorable year 1848, Italy lay restless under the heel of her oppressor. The republican movements throughout Europe which characterized that year of revolutions encouraged the Italian patriots in another attempt to achieve independence and nationality. Everywhere throughout the peninsula they rose against their despotic rulers

and forced them to grant constitutions and institute reforms.

But through the intervention of the Austrians and the French the third Italian revolution was brought to naught. This interference by the French in Italian affairs was prompted by their jealousy of Austria and the desire of Louis Napoleon to win the good will of the Catholic clergy in France.



FIG. 54. — VICTOR EMMANUEL II. (From an engraving)

Much, however, had been gained. The patriots had been taught the necessity of united action. Henceforward all were more inclined to look upon the kingdom of Sardinia as the only possible basis and nucleus of a free and united Italy.

528. Victor Emmanuel II, Count Cavour, and Garibaldi. — Sardinia was a state which had gradually grown into power in the northwest corner of the peninsula. The throne was at this time

held by Victor Emmanuel II (1849-1878), the only constitutional ruler in Italy. To him it was that the hopes of the Italian patriots now turned. Nor were these hopes to be disappointed. Victor Emmanuel was the destined liberator of Italy, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that his was the name in which the achievement was to be effected by the wise policy of his great minister Count Cavour and the reckless daring of the national hero Garibaldi.

Count Cavour was the Bismarck of Italy, — one of those great men who during this formative period in the life of the European peoples have earned the title of Nation Makers. He was lacking in oratorical and poetic gifts. "I cannot make a sonnet," he said, "but I can make Italy," — an utterance suggested doubtless by that of the Athenian statesman (Themistocles) who boasted that though "he knew nothing of music and song, he did know how of a mean city to make a great one." Cavour was the real maker of modern Italy.



FIG. 55. — COUNT CAVOUR
(From an engraving)

Garibaldi, "the hero of the red shirt," the knight-errant of Italian independence, was a most remarkable character. Though yet barely past middle life, he had led a career singularly crowded with varied experiences and romantic adventures. Because of his violent republicanism he had already been twice exiled from Italy.

529. Sardinia in the Crimean War. — In 1855, in pursuance of a far-sighted policy, Cavour sent a Sardinian contingent of fifteen thousand men to aid England and France against Russia in the Crimean War (sec. 552), with the two chief aims of giving Sardinia a standing among the powers of Europe, and of earning the gratitude of England and France, so that the Italians in their future struggles with Austria might not have to fight their battles alone.

A little incident in the trenches of the allies before Sevastopol shows in what spirit the Sardinians had gone to the war. A soldier, covered with mud and wearied with the everlasting digging, complained to his superior officer. "Never mind," was the consoling reply; "it is with this mud that Italy is to be made."

530. Cavour prepares for War with Austria. — Soon after the close of the Crimean War, Cavour received from the French Emperor Napoleon III a promise that a French army, when the favorable moment arrived, would aid the Sardinians in driving the Austrians out of Italy. In this proffer of help the French Emperor was actuated less by gratitude for the aid of the Sardinian contingent in the war against Russia than by a desire to lessen the power of Austria in Italy and to replace it by French influence, and to secure Savoy and Nice, which were to be France's reward for her intervention in Sardinia's behalf.

531. The Austro-Sardinian War (1859-1860). — Sardinia now began to arm. Austria, alarmed at these demonstrations, called upon Sardinia to disarm immediately upon threat of war. Cavour eagerly accepted the challenge. The French armies were joined to those of Sardinia. The two great victories of Magenta and Solferino drove the Austrians out of Lombardy. Just at this juncture the menacing attitude of Prussia and other German states, which were alarmed at the prospective aggrandizement of France, and the rapid spread of the revolutionary movement in Italy, which foreshadowed the union of all the states of the peninsula in a single kingdom, — something which Louis Napoleon did not wish to see consummated,¹ — this new situation of things, in connection with other considerations, caused the French Emperor to draw back and to enter upon negotiations of peace with the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph at Villafranca.

The outcome was that Austria retained Venice, but gave up to Sardinia the larger part of Lombardy. The Sardinians were bitterly

¹ Napoleon III did not wish for a united Italy any more than he wished for a united Germany. His aim was to create a kingdom in Northern Italy which would exclude Austria from the peninsula and then to bring about a confederation of all the Italian states under the presidency of the Pope. Italy thus reconstructed would, he conceived, be fain to look to the French Emperor as her champion and patron.



disappointed that they did not get Venetia, since at the outset the French Emperor had declared that he would free Italy from the "Alps to the Adriatic."

But Sardinia found compensation for Venice in the accession of Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the Romagna, the peoples of which states, having discarded their old rulers, besought Victor Emmanuel to permit them to unite themselves to his kingdom. Thus, as the result of the war, the king of Sardinia had added to his subjects a population of seven millions. A long step had been taken in the way of Italian unity and freedom.

532. Sicily and Naples, with Umbria and the Marches, added to Victor Emmanuel's Kingdom (1860).— The adventurous daring of the hero Garibaldi now added Sicily and Naples, and indirectly Umbria and the Marches, to the possessions of Victor Emmanuel, and changed the kingdom of Sardinia into the kingdom of Italy.

All this took place under the following circumstances. In 1860 the subjects of the Bourbon Francis II, king of the Two Sicilies, rose in revolt. Garibaldi, favored by the connivance of the Sardinian government, having gathered a band of a thousand volunteers, set sail from Genoa for Sicily, where upon landing he assumed the title of Dictator of Sicily for Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, and quickly drove the troops of King Francis out of the island. Then crossing to the mainland he marched triumphantly to Naples, whose inhabitants hailed him tumultuously as their deliverer.

Count Cavour saw that the time had now come for the Sardinian government openly to assume guidance of the revolutionary movement. The papal territories and Naples were accordingly occupied by a regular Sardinian army. Meanwhile a plebiscite, or popular vote, having been ordered, the papal lands of Umbria and the Marches, together with Naples, and Sicily, voted almost unanimously for annexation to the Sardinian kingdom.

Thus was another long step taken in the unification of Italy. Nine millions more of Italians had become the subjects of Victor Emmanuel. There was now wanting to complete the union only Venetia and Rome, with the lands in the immediate neighborhood of the latter city, known as the "Patrimony of St. Peter."

533. Venetia added to the Kingdom (1866).—The Seven Weeks' War (sec. 544), which broke out between Prussia and Austria in 1866, afforded the Italian patriots the opportunity for which they were watching to make Venetia a part of the kingdom of Italy. Victor Emmanuel formed an alliance with the king of Prussia, one of the conditions of which was that no peace should be made with Austria until she had surrendered Venetia to Italy. The speedy issue of the war added the coveted territory to the dominions of Victor Emmanuel.

534. Rome becomes the Capital (1870).—The Italians now looked forward impatiently to the time when Rome, the ancient mistress of the peninsula, should be their capital. The power of the Pope, however, was upheld by the French, and this made it impossible for the Italians to have their will in this matter without a conflict with France.

But events soon gave the coveted capital to the Italian government. In 1870 came the sharp, quick war between France and Prussia, and the French troops at Rome were summoned home. The Italian government at once gave notice to the Pope that Rome would henceforth be considered a portion of the kingdom of Italy, and forthwith an Italian army entered the city, which by a vote of almost a hundred to one resolved to cast in its lot with that of the Italian nation. The family was now complete. Italy was a nation—and the only great nation in Europe “made not by conquest but by consent.”²

535. End of the Temporal Power of the Papacy.—The occupation of Rome by the Italian government marked the end of the temporal power of the Pope, and thus the end of the last ecclesiastical state in Europe. The papal troops, with the exception of a few guardsmen, were disbanded. The Vatican palace and some other buildings with their grounds were reserved to the Pope as a place of residence, together with a yearly allowance of over six million dollars.

² Victor Emmanuel II died in 1878, and his son came to the throne with the title of Humbert I. He was assassinated in 1900, and was succeeded by his only son, Victor Emmanuel III.

These arrangements have subsisted down to the present time. Under them the Pope is not to be regarded as a subject of the Italian government but rather as a sovereign residing at Rome. His person is inviolable. No Italian officer may enter the Vatican or its grounds, which the Italian government respects the same as though they were foreign territory.³

The popes⁴ have steadily refused to recognize the legitimacy of the act whereby they were deprived of the temporal government of Rome and the Papal States, and have protested against it by refraining from setting foot outside the gardens of the Vatican, by refusing to accept the annuity provided for them, and in various other ways.



FIG. 56. — POPE PIUS X. (From a photograph)

536. Reform and

Progress. — The antagonism between the holy see and the Italian government, in connection with other hindrances, has tended to retard Italy's progress under the new régime. Yet very much has been accomplished since the winning of independence

³ Just a few months before the loss of his temporal sovereignty a great council of the Catholic Church (the Vatican Council of 1869-1870) had by a solemn vote proclaimed the doctrine of papal infallibility, which declares the decisions of the Pope, when speaking *ex cathedra*, "on questions of faith and morals," to be infallible.

⁴ Pius IX died in 1878 and was followed in the pontificate by Leo XIII, who died July 20, 1903, at the patriarchal age of ninety-three, after having won a place among the greatest and the best of the popes. The College of Cardinals elected as his successor Cardinal Joseph Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, who assumed the title of Pius X.

and nationality. Brigandage, an element of the bad heritage from the time of servitude, oppression, and disunion, has been in a great degree suppressed; railways have been built; the Alps have been tunneled; the healthfulness of the Campagna and other districts has been increased by extensive systems of drainage, and regions long given over to desolation have been made habitable and productive; the dense ignorance and the deep moral degradation of the masses, particularly in the southern parts of the peninsula, have been in a measure overcome and relieved by a public system of education; and Rome has been rebuilt, and from the position of a mean provincial town raised to a place among the great capitals of modern Europe.

As to the progress made during the last thirty years in the development of the sentiment of nationality, a recent disaster furnishes a milestone by which to measure advance. In 1902 the great historic campanile which dominated St. Mark's in Venice fell in a pathetic heap of ruins. Every city of the peninsula, says a chronicler of the event, mourned just as if the tower had been its own, — "and then they opened a subscription." Had the catastrophe happened a single generation ago Venice would have had to restore her own bell tower; but Italy is to-day a Nation, and the misfortune which befalls any Italian city afflicts all alike.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE MAKING OF THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE

537. Formation of the German Confederation (1815).—The creation of the new German Empire is the most important matter in the political history of Europe since Waterloo. This story, so far as it will be narrated in the present chapter, begins with the Congress of Vienna. That body reorganized Germany as a Confederation, with the Emperor of Austria as President of the league. The union consisted of the Austrian Empire and the four kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg, besides various principalities and free cities, — in all, thirty-nine states. A Diet formed of delegates from the several states was to settle all questions of dispute arising between members of the Confederation, and to determine matters of general concern. The articles of union, in a spirit of concession to the growing sentiment of the times, provided that every state should establish a representative form of government.

538. Defects and Weaknesses of the Confederation.—The ties uniting the various states of this Confederation could hardly have been more lax. In this respect the league resembled that first formed by the American states under the Articles of Confederation. One chief defect of its constitution was that, as in the case of the American Federation, there existed no effective machinery for carrying out the acts of the Federal Diet. These amounted practically to nothing more than recommendations to the rulers of the several states, who paid no heed whatsoever to them unless they chanced to be in line with their own policies or inclinations.

But what contributed more than all else to render the federal scheme wholly unworkable was the presence in the league of two powerful and mutually jealous states, Austria and Prussia, neither of which was willing that the other should have predominance in

the affairs of the Confederation. Of these two rival states Prussia, though at first she yielded nominal precedence to Austria, which had a great past and enjoyed a vast prestige at the European courts, was in reality the stronger and the more promising state. Her strength lay particularly in the essentially German character of her population. Austria was inherently weak because of the mixed non-German character of most of the territories that had been gradually united under the rule of the Hapsburgs. The greater part of their lands lay outside of the German Confederation and contained nearly twenty-five million Slavs, Magyars, Italians, and other non-German subjects.

This difference in the character of the populations of Prussia and the Austrian Empire foreshadowed their divergent destinies, — foreshadowed that Austria should lose and that Prussia should gain the leadership in German affairs.

539. The Dual Movement towards Freedom and Union. — For a half century after the Congress of Vienna the history of Germany is the history of a dual movement, or perhaps it would be better to say two movements, one democratic and the other national in character. The aim of the first movement was the establishment of representative government in the different states of the Confederation; the aim of the second was German unity. These movements were essentially the same as those which we have seen creating in the Italian peninsula a free and united Italy. They were to have the same issue here in Germany, — the creation of a free and united German fatherland.

540. The Revolutions of 1830: Some Gains for Constitutional Government. — There were a few liberal-minded princes among the German rulers; but in general the faces of these princes were turned towards the past. They opposed all changes that should give the people any part in the government, and clung to the old order of things. We have seen what were the consequences of the reactionary policy of the Bourbons in France and of the despots in Italy. Events ran exactly the same course in Germany. When the news of the February Revolution in Paris spread beyond the Rhine, a sympathetic thrill shot through Germany, and in

places the Liberal party made threatening demonstrations against their reactionary rulers. In several of the minor states constitutions were granted. Thus a little was gained for free political institutions, though after the flutter of the revolutionary years the princes again took up their reactionary policy, and under the influence of Metternich did all in their power to check the popular movement and to keep governmental matters out of the hands of the people. In some instances the constitutions already granted were annulled or their articles were disregarded.

541. Formation of the Customs Union; First Step towards German Unity (1828-1836). — It was just at this revolutionary epoch that the first step was taken in the formation of a real German nation through the creation of what is known as the Customs Union. This was a sort of commercial treaty binding those states that became parties to it — by the year 1836 almost all the states of the Confederation save Austria had become members of the league — to adopt among themselves the policy of free trade; that is, there were to be no duties levied on goods passing from one state of the Union to another belonging to it.

The greatest good resulting from the Union was that it taught the people to think of a more perfect national union. And as Prussia was the promoter of the trade confederation, it accustomed the smaller states to look to her as their head and chief.

542. The Uprisings of 1848; Further Gains for Constitutional Government. — In 1848 news flew across the Rhine of the uprising in France against the reactionary government of Louis Philippe. The intelligence kindled a flame of excitement throughout Germany. The Liberals everywhere arose and demanded constitutional government. Especially in Austria did affairs assume a most threatening aspect.¹ Metternich was obliged to flee the country. The Emperor Ferdinand I abdicated in favor of his nephew Francis Joseph, who granted the people a constitution.²

¹ The most serious trouble was in Hungary. Led by the distinguished statesman and orator Louis Kossuth, the Hungarians rose in revolt and declared their independence of the Austrian crown (April 14, 1849). They made a noble fight for freedom, but were overpowered by the united Austrian and Russian armies.

² This Austrian constitution was withdrawn in 1851.

At the Prussian capital Berlin there was serious street fighting between the people and the soldiers, and the excitement was not quieted until the king Frederick William IV assured the people that their demands for constitutional government should be granted. In fulfillment of this promise the king granted a constitution and took an oath to rule in accord with its provisions (Feb. 6, 1850). Prussia thus joined the ranks of constitutional

states. This state was now to play in the unification of Germany a part like that played by Sardinia in the unification of Italy. Henceforth Prussian history is German history.



FIG. 57.—PRINCE BISMARCK
(After a painting by *Franz von Lenbach*)

543. Bismarck, the Unifier of Germany.—In the year 1861 Frederick William IV of Prussia died, and his brother, already an old man of sixty-three, yet destined to be for almost a generation the central

figure in the movement for German unity, came to the Prussian throne as William I. He soon called to his side Otto von Bismarck as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Bismarck was one of Germany's greatest sons,—the greatest since Frederick the Great or Luther. He was a man of titanic mold in body and intellect, of imperious will and iron resolution. He was the German Cromwell. His appearance at the head of the Prussian government marks an epoch in history.

Bismarck saw clearly enough how the vexed question between Austria and Prussia was to be settled, — "by blood and iron." Austria's power and influence must be destroyed and she herself forcibly expelled from the Germanic body before the German states could be remolded into a real national union.

544. The Seven Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia (1866). — The inevitable war which was to decide whether Austria or Prussia should be leader in German affairs came on apace. Early in 1866 the war opened.⁸ The occasion of it was a dispute in regard to some petty Danish provinces (Schleswig and Holstein). Almost all of the lesser states grouped themselves about Austria. Prussia, however, found a ready ally in Italy. On the 3d of July, 1866, was fought the great battle of Sadowa, or Königgrätz, in Bohemia. This was one of the decisive battles of history. It was Austria's Waterloo. The Prussians pushing on towards Vienna, the Emperor Francis Joseph was constrained to sue for peace, and on the 23d of August the Treaty of Prague was signed.

The long debate between Austria and Prussia was over. By the terms of the treaty Austria consented to the dissolution of the old German Confederation and agreed to allow Prussia to reorganize the German states as she might wish. At the same time she surrendered Venetia to the Italian kingdom. The hindrances she had so long placed in the way both of German and of Italian unity were now finally removed.

545. Establishment of the North German Confederation (1867). — Now quickly followed the reorganization under the presidency of Prussia of the German states north of the Main into what was called the North German Confederation. There were twenty-one states in all, reckoning the three free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. A constitution was adopted which provided that all common concerns should be committed to a Federal Parliament, or Diet. The Prussian king was to be the hereditary executive of the Confederation and the commander in chief of all the military forces of the several states.

⁸ The head of the Prussian army was the great Von Moltke.

Thus was a long step taken towards German unity. But there still remained much to be desired. The states to the south of the Main — Baden, Bavaria, Württemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt — were yet wanting to complete the unification of the Fatherland.

A chief obstacle which had prevented the South German states from being brought into the new union was French jealousy. The Emperor Napoleon had insisted that the river Main should form the southern boundary of the Confederation of the North. He had thought that the South German states would form a union among themselves and look to him as their champion against Prussian aggression. Thus he hoped to be able to maintain the traditional position of France as arbiter of German affairs.

546. The Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871). — The Austro-Prussian War had laid the basis of a Franco-Prussian War. It has just been seen how German unity had come short of complete accomplishment partly through the intermeddling of the Emperor Napoleon. But it was intolerable to German patriots, now that the sentiment of German nationality was growing strong, that France should be allowed to dictate to Germans respecting their internal affairs, and should stand between them and their national destiny. On the other hand, it seemed intolerable to the French that a strong German Empire should be allowed to arise right on the frontier of France, and that by this new upstart power France should be shouldered from her historic position as arbiter of Europe. All her old jealous hatred of the House of Hapsburg was now transferred to the rising House of Hohenzollern. France awaited merely a pretext for attacking her new rival and preventing by force the consummation of German unity under Prussian headship.

She had not long to wait. In 1869 the throne of Spain became vacant. It was offered to Leopold, a member of the Hohenzollern family. The Emperor Napoleon III affected to see in this a scheme on the part of the House of Hohenzollern to unite the interests of Prussia and Spain, just as Austria and Spain were united under the princes of the House of Hapsburg. Even after Leopold, to avoid displeasing France, had declined the proffered

crown, the Emperor demanded of King William assurance that no member of the House of Hohenzollern should ever with his consent become a candidate for the Spanish throne.

This unreasonable demand was made of King William by the French ambassador Benedetti at the little watering place of Ems. The king courteously refused the demand and then sent a telegram to Bismarck informing him of what had occurred, at the same time giving him permission to make such use of it as he saw fit. Bismarck edited the telegram in such a way as to convey the impression that the French ambassador had been brusquely dismissed by King William, and then gave it out for publication. The French people were wild with rage. War was now inevitable.

The important thing to be noted here is the enthusiasm that the war awakened not only throughout the states of the North German Confederation but among the states of the South as well, which placed their armies at the disposal of King William. The cause was looked upon as a national one, and a patriotic fervor stirred the hearts of all Germans alike.

547. The Proclamation of the New German Empire (1871). — The astonishing successes of the German armies on French soil (sec. 502) created among Germans everywhere such patriotic pride in the Fatherland that all the obstacles which had hitherto prevented anything more than a partial union of the members of the Germanic body were now swept out of the way by an irresistible tide of national sentiment. While the siege of Paris was progressing, commissioners were sent by the southern states to Versailles, the headquarters of King William, to represent to him that they were ready and anxious to enter the North German Union. Thus in rapid succession Baden, Hesse, Würtemberg, and Bavaria were received into the Confederation, the name of which was now changed to that of the German Confederation.

Scarcely was this accomplished when, upon the suggestion of the king of Bavaria, — who had been coached by Bismarck, — King William, who now bore the title of *President* of the Confederation, was given the title of *German Emperor*, which honor was to be hereditary in his family. On the 18th of January, 1871,

within the Palace of Versailles, — the siege of Paris being still in progress, — amidst indescribable enthusiasm the imperial dignity was formally conferred upon King William, and Germany became a constitutional Empire.⁴

Thus amidst the throes of war the free German nation was born. The German people, after long centuries of division and servitude, had at last found freedom and unity.⁵

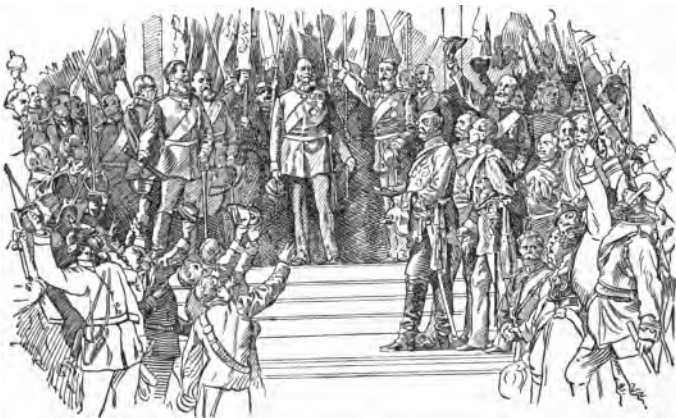


FIG. 58. — PROCLAMATION OF KING WILLIAM AS EMPEROR OF GERMANY AT VERSAILLES, JANUARY, 1871. (After a painting by *Anton von Werner*, Prussian court painter)

548. Later Events. — For nearly twenty years after the close of the Franco-Prussian War the policy of the new Empire was

⁴ The new German Empire constitutes a federal state belonging to the same class of political organizations as the United States, Switzerland, Canada, and the newly formed Australian Commonwealth. Aside from the monarchical hereditary character of the federal executive and of the executive of each of the various principalities, it differs from our Union in there being no sort of equality in size between the states constituting the Empire, Prussia exceeding in population all the other states of the union taken together. (According to the census of 1900 the population of Prussia was 34,472,509; that of all the other states, including Alsace-Lorraine, was 21,894,660.) Again, it differs from our federal system by leaving to the different states in large measure the carrying out of the federal laws.

⁵ There is, however, something lacking from the union. There are nine million persons of German blood in the Austrian Empire. Whether these Germans shall ever come to form part of the German nation remains for the future to determine.

directed by Bismarck as the first Imperial Chancellor. In his foreign policy Bismarck's greatest achievement was the formation of what is known as the Triple Alliance (*Dreibund*) between the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, and Italy (1882). The chief objects of the Triple Alliance were to curb Russia's ambition in the Balkans and to hold France back from a war of revenge against Germany. Without doubt this league has been one of the most potent factors making for the peace of Europe during the last two decades and more.

In 1888 Emperor William I died at the venerable age of ninety-one. His death moved profoundly the German nation. His reign had covered great years in German story, and he had gone with his people through many of the most momentous passages in their history.

William I was followed by his son Frederick, who at the time of his accession was suffering from a fatal malady. He died after a short reign of three months, and his son came to the throne as Emperor William II (1888).

It was generally thought that the young sovereign would be completely under the influence of Bismarck. But soon the Emperor disclosed a very imperious will of his own. His relations with Bismarck became strained and the aged Chancellor was brusquely dismissed (March 18, 1890).

The young Emperor's rule since then has been a very personal one. He would have made an ideal divine-right king in those halcyon days for autocratic rulers when there were no representative assemblies.

The remarkable growth of the party known as the Social Democrats, who advocate an extreme programme of social and industrial reform, is one of the most noteworthy facts connected with the domestic history of the Empire.

549. Austria-Hungary after 1866. — The disaster of Sadowa did for Austria what the disaster of Jena did for Prussia (sec. 491), — it brought about its political and social regeneration. Chastened by the bitter humiliation and realizing that the maintenance of the old traditional system of absolute government was henceforth impossible, the Emperor Francis Joseph was now ready

to make concessions to the national aspirations of the Magyars, and to yield to the growing demands of his subjects for liberal reforms and constitutional government.

The first step and the most important one in the process of reorganization was the recognition by the Austrian court of the claims of the Magyars to the right of equality in the monarchy with the hitherto dominant German race. By an agreement known as the *Ausgleich*, or Compromise, the relations of Austria and Hungary in the reconstituted state were defined and regulated. It provided for the division of the old empire into two parts, now designated as the Austrian Empire and the Hungarian Kingdom.⁶ Each state was to have its own parliament, the one sitting at Vienna and the other at Budapest, and each was to have complete control of its own internal affairs.

The common interests of the two states—those embracing foreign affairs, the army, and finances—were to be regulated by a third peculiar parliament, the so-called Delegations, composed of sixty delegates from each of the other two parliaments. The hereditary head of the Austrian state was to be also the constitutional king of Hungary. This compact was duly ratified by the parliaments of Hungary and Austria, and the long struggle between the Magyars and the House of Hapsburg was—for a time—at an end. The Hungarian constitution was restored, and the same year (1867) the western half of the monarchy was also given a liberal constitution, and Austria-Hungary now definitely entered the ranks of constitutional states.

The Compromise, it will be noted, made no recognition whatsoever of the historic rights and liberties of the other races or nationalities of the monarchy, of which there are many. In the Austrian Parliament the oath is administered to the members in eight different languages.

Now in the eastern half of the monarchy the Magyars, who form only a minority of the population of the Hungarian kingdom,⁷ are holding practically all the non-Magyar races of the

⁶ The official designation of the dual state is the *Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*.

⁷ The census of 1900 gives the total number of inhabitants of Hungary as 19,254,559, of whom only 7,426,730 are returned as being of Hungarian race.

kingdom in just such political serfdom as they themselves were subjected to before the events of 1866-1867.

It is the same in the other half of the monarchy. There a German minority⁸ is holding the Czechs in Bohemia and the Poles in Galicia in a state of subjection similar to that in which the Magyars are holding the non-Magyar races of Hungary.

Now these dependent nationalities claim that they have as good a right to self-government as have either the Germans or the Magyars. The relations of Ireland to England, and the resulting agitation on the part of the Irish people for Home Rule, will convey some idea of the situation of things in the dual monarchy, and of the turbulence created in the state by the struggles for autonomy of these subject races. In short, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy has three or four Irish problems.

At the present time (1906) the strongest bond uniting the different races of the monarchy is the personal popularity of the reigning sovereign. The Emperor Francis Joseph has endeared himself in a remarkable degree to his people, and so long as he lives his personal ascendancy, in spite of the present strained relations between him and his Magyar subjects, will doubtless insure the integrity of the monarchy.

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⁸ The total population of Austria according to the census of 1900 was 26,150,708; the number of Germans, 9,170,939.

CHAPTER XXXIX

RUSSIA SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

550. Preliminary Statement. — The story of Russia since the fall of Napoleon is crowded with matters of great moment and interest. We can, however, in the present chapter, speak very briefly of only three things, — her part in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the emancipation of her serfs, and the Liberal movement. In the next chapter we shall find place to say something of Russia in Asia.

I. RUSSIA'S WARS AGAINST TURKEY AND HER ALLIES

551. The Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829. — In the course of the nineteenth century Russia waged three wars against the Ottoman Porte, which resulted in the expulsion of the Turks from a large part of their conquests in Europe. But the jealousy of the other great powers of Europe prevented Russia from appropriating the fruits of her victories, so that the outcome of her efforts was the establishment of a number of independent, or practically independent, Christian principalities on the land recovered.

The first of these wars began in 1828. In that year, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the Sultan through a stubborn insurrection in Greece,¹ Tsar Nicholas² declared war against the Ottoman Porte. The Russian troops crossed the Balkans without serious opposition, and were marching upon Constantinople when the Sultan sued for peace. The Treaty of Adrianople brought the war to a close (1829).

¹ This was the struggle known as the War of Greek Independence (1821-1829). This war was a phase of the liberal and national movement which in the revolutionary year of 1821 agitated the Italian and Iberian peninsulas. Lord Byron devoted his life and fortune to the cause of Greek freedom. He died of fever at the siege of Missolonghi (1824).

² Tsars of the nineteenth century: Alexander I, 1801-1825; Nicholas I, 1825-1855; Alexander II, 1855-1881; Alexander III, 1881-1894; Nicholas II, 1894-

The Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia (now Rumania) were rendered virtually independent of the Sultan. All Greece south of Thessaly and Epirus was liberated, and along with most of the islands of the Ægean was formed into an independent kingdom under the joint guardianship of England, France, and Russia. Prince Otto of Bavaria accepted the crown, and became the first king of the little Hellenic state⁸ (1832).

552. The Crimean War (1853-1856).—A celebrated parable employed by the Tsar Nicholas in conversation with the English minister at St. Petersburg throws a good deal of light upon the circumstances that led to the Crimean War. "We have on our hands," said the Tsar, "a sick man—a very sick man; it would be a great misfortune if he should give us the slip some of these days, especially if it happened before all the necessary arrangements were made." Nicholas thereupon proposed that England and Russia should divide the estate of the "sick man," by which phrase Turkey of course was meant. England was to be allowed to take Egypt and Crete, while the Turkish provinces in Europe were to be taken under the protection of the Tsar, which meant of course the complete absorption, in due time, of all South-eastern Europe into the Russian Empire.

A pretense for hastening the dissolution of the sick man was not long wanting. A quarrel between the Greek and Latin Christians at Jerusalem was made the ground by Nicholas for demanding of the Sultan the recognition of a Russian protectorate over all Greek Christians in the Ottoman dominions. The demand was rejected, and Nicholas prepared for war. The Sultan appealed to the Western powers for help. England and France responded to the appeal, and later Sardinia joined her forces to theirs (sec. 529).

⁸ In 1864 the kingdom was enlarged through the cession to it of the Ionian Islands by England, in whose hands they had been since the Congress of Vienna. In 1881 it received Thessaly and a part of Epirus by cession from Turkey. Under the régime of freedom substantial progress has been made. The population of the little kingdom rose from 612,000 in 1832 to 2,433,806 in 1896. Industry, trade, and commerce have revived. The Isthmus of Corinth has been pierced by a canal. Railroads have been built. Athens has taken on the appearance of a modern capital. Its university has an attendance of between two and three thousand students,—a good omen for the future.

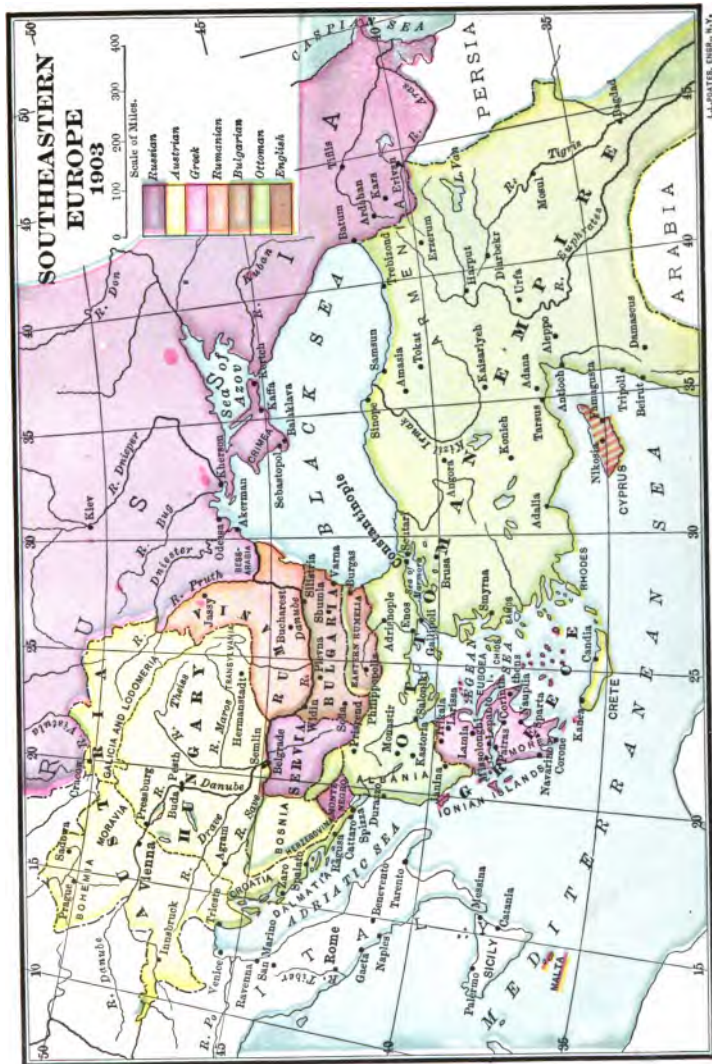
The main interest of the struggle centered about Sevastopol, in the Crimea, Russia's great naval and military station in the Euxine. The siege of this place, which lasted eleven months, was one of the most memorable in history. The Russian general Todleben earned a great reputation through his masterly defense of the works. The English "Light Brigade" won immortality in its memorable charge at Balaklava. The French troops, through their dashing bravery, brought great fame to the Emperor who had sent them to gather glory for his throne.

The Russians were at length forced to evacuate their stronghold. The war was now soon brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris (March 30, 1856). The keynote of this treaty was the maintenance in its integrity of the Ottoman Empire as a barrier against Muscovite encroachments. Russia was given back Sevastopol, but was required to abandon all claims to a protectorate over any of the subjects of the Porte, and to agree not to raise any more fortresses on the Euxine nor keep upon that sea any armed ships, save what might be needed for police service.⁴

553. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and the Treaty of Berlin. — Anxiously as the Treaty of Paris had provided for the permanent settlement of the Eastern Question, barely twenty-two years had passed before it was again up before Europe. The Sultan could not or would not give his Christian subjects that protection which he had solemnly promised should be given. In 1876 there occurred in Bulgaria what are known as the "Bulgarian atrocities," — massacres of Christian men, women, and children more revolting perhaps than any others of which history tells.

Fierce indignation was kindled throughout Europe. The Russian armies were soon in motion. Kars in Asia Minor and Plevna in European Turkey, the latter after a memorable siege, fell into the hands of the Russians, and the armies of the Tsar were once more in full march upon Constantinople, with the prospect of soon ending forever Turkish rule on European soil, when England

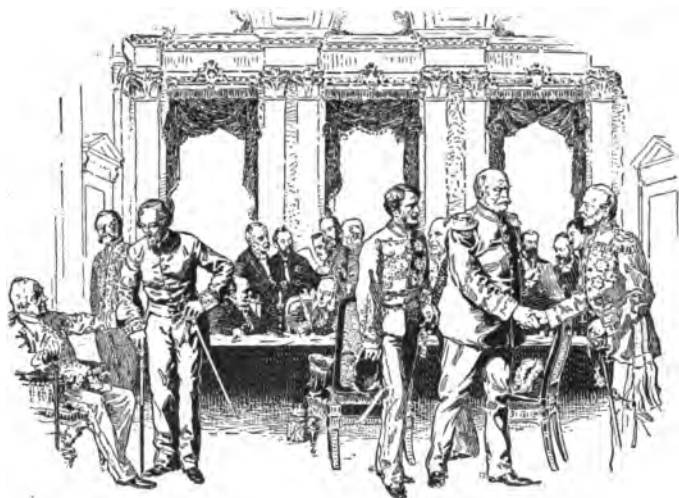
⁴ Russia repudiated this article of the treaty during the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. She has restored Sevastopol and its fortresses and is now maintaining a strong fleet of warships on the Black Sea.



L. J. MASON, CHICAGO, U.S.A.

intervened, sent her fleet through the Dardanelles, and arrested the triumphant march of the Russians.

The Treaty of Berlin (1878), whose articles were arranged by the great powers, adjusted once more the disorganized affairs of the Sublime Porte and bolstered up as well as was possible the "sick man." But he lost a good part of his estate, for even his friends had no longer any hope either of his recovery or of his reformation. Out of those provinces of his dominions in Europe



Gortchakoff

Disraeli

Andrassy

Bismarck

Schuwaloff

FIG. 59.— THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN. (After a painting by *Anton Von Werner*, Prussian court painter)

in which the Christian population was most numerous, there was created a group of wholly independent or half-independent states.⁵ The northern frontier of the Ottoman Empire in Europe was thus pushed back to the Balkans. Bosnia and Herzegovina were given

⁵ The absolute independence of Rumania (the ancient provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia), Servia, and Montenegro was formally acknowledged; Bulgaria, north of the Balkans, was to enjoy self-government, but was to pay tribute to the Porte; Eastern Rumelia was to have a Christian governor, but was to remain under the dominion of the Sultan. In 1885 Eastern Rumelia united with Bulgaria.

to Austria-Hungary to administer, but were not actually severed from the Ottoman Empire.

The island of Cyprus, by a secret arrangement between the Ottoman Porte and the English government, was ceded to England "to be occupied and administered." In return England guaranteed the integrity of the Sultan's possessions in Asia.

Thus as a result of the war Turkey was shorn of half her European possessions. There were left in Europe under the direct authority of the Sultan barely five million subjects, of which number about one half are Christians.⁶

II. THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS, AND THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT

554. Emancipation of the Russian Serfs (1861).—The name of Tsar Alexander II (1855–1881) will live in history as the Emancipator of the Russian serfs. The Emancipation Code, which was promulgated in 1861, required the masters of the peasant serfs to give them a certain portion of the lands they had tilled, for which, however, they were to make some fixed return in labor or rent.⁷ The lands thus acquired became the common property of the village, or *Mir*. All other serfs, such as house servants and operatives in factories, were to gain their freedom at the end of two years' additional service, during which time, however, they were to receive fair wages.

As in the case of the emancipation of the slaves in our Southern States, the emancipation of the Russian serfs has not met all the hopeful expectations of the friends of the reform. One cause of the unsatisfactory outcome of the measure is that the villagers did not get enough land, save in those districts where the earth is very rich, to enable them to support themselves by its tillage. Hence many of them live in wretched poverty.

⁶ At the present writing (1906) these unredeemed lands, particularly the eastern portion of them popularly designated as Macedonia, are seething with revolt.

⁷ The serfs on the crown lands, about 23,000,000 in number, had already been freed by special edicts (the first issued in July, 1858). The whole number of serfs liberated was about 46,000,000.

555. The Liberal Movement in Russia. — Since 1815 there has been a growing protest in Russia, now the last great stronghold of autocracy in the world, against the despotic government of the Tsar. This movement is nothing else than the outworking in Russia of the ideas of the French Revolution. The fundamental demand of the Liberals is that the people shall have a share in the rule of the empire.

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 gave a great impulse to this Liberal movement by utterly discrediting the corrupt, unscrupulous, and incapable government of the autocracy. The people, forced to make unheard-of sacrifices of life and treasure to carry on a disastrous war in which they had neither voice nor interest, arose in virtual insurrection. The empire became filled from end to end with unrest and disorder, with riots and local attempts violently to overthrow the government. The situation was strangely like that of 1789 in France. A Reign of Terror seemed imminent. The Tsar was finally constrained to promise the people the convening early in 1906 of a National Parliament.⁸

The meeting of this body, unless reaction should prevail over reform, will signalize an epoch in universal history. It will mark at once the political emancipation of the Russian people, and the enhancement of the spiritual forces of civilization by the addition to them of the freely unfolding energies of a richly endowed race.

Secondary Works. — RAMBAUD, A., *History of Russia*, vol. iii. LEROY-BEAULIEU, A., *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*, 3 vols. MORFILL, W. R., *The Story of Russia*, chaps. x and xi. WALLACE, D. M., *Russia* (new ed., 1905); has chapters which give an excellent account of the *Mir* and the effects upon the serfs of the emancipation measure. STEPNIAK (pseudonym), *The Russian Peasantry*. NOBLE, E., *The Russian Revolt and Russia and the Russians*. MILYUKOV, P., *Russia and its Crisis*; for the special student. For works on Russia in Asia, see next chapter.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Russian *Mir*. 2. Tsar Alexander II and the emancipation of the Russian serfs. 3. The bureaucracy.

⁸ This first Russian Parliament is to consist of an upper house, to be known as the Council of the Empire, and a lower chamber, named the Douma, or National Assembly.

CHAPTER XL

EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I. CAUSES AND GENERAL PHASES OF THE EXPANSION MOVEMENT

556. The Fate of the Earlier Colonial Empires; Decline and Revival of Interest in Colonies. — The history we have narrated has revealed the fate of all the colonial empires founded by the various European nations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The magnificent Portuguese Empire soon became the spoil of the Dutch and the English; France lost her colonial possessions to England; a great part of the colonies of the Dutch also finally fell into English hands; before the end of the eighteenth century England lost through revolution her thirteen colonies in North America; and in the early part of the nineteenth century Spain in like manner lost all her dependencies on the mainland of the New World.

After these discouraging experiences with their colonies the governments of Europe lost interest for a while in possessions beyond the seas. Statesmen came to hold the doctrine that colonies are "like fruit, which as soon as ripe falls from the tree." The English minister Disraeli, in referring to England's colonial possessions, once used these words: "Those wretched colonies are millstones about our neck."

Before the close of the nineteenth century, however, fostered by different causes, there sprang up a most extraordinary revival of interest in colonies and dependencies, and the leading European states began to compete eagerly for over-the-sea possessions. During the last fifteen or twenty years of the nineteenth century almost all the old colonizing peoples of Europe were exerting themselves to the utmost to build up new empires to take the place of those they had lost, while other nations that had never

possessed colonies now also entered into competition with those earlier in the field.

557. Stanley's Discoveries open up the "Dark Continent."—By this time, however, almost all the lands outside of Europe suited to European settlement were closed against true colonizing enterprises by having been appropriated by England, or through their being in the control of independent states that had grown out of colonies planted by immigrants of European speech and blood.

Africa, however, was still left. For a century intrepid explorers had been endeavoring to uncover the mysteries of that continent. Among these was the missionary-explorer David Livingstone. He died in 1873. His mantle fell upon Henry M. Stanley, who a short time after the death of Livingstone set out on an adventurous expedition across Africa¹ (1874–1877), in which journey he discovered the course of the Congo and learned the nature of its great basin. Not since the age of Columbus had there been any discoveries in the domain of geography comparable in importance to these of Stanley. Stanley gave the world an account of his journey in a book bearing the title *Through the Dark Continent*. The appearance of this work marks an epoch in the history of Africa. It inspired innumerable enterprises, political, commercial, and philanthropic, whose aim was to develop the natural resources of the continent and to open it up to civilization.

558. The Partition of Africa.—The discoveries of Stanley and the founding of the Congo Free State² were the signal for a scramble among the powers of Europe for African territory. England, France, and Germany were the strongest competitors and they got the largest shares. In the short space of fifteen years Africa became a dependency of Europe. The only native states retaining

¹ Stanley had made an earlier expedition (1871–1872) in search of Livingstone.

² The Congo Free State, founded by the International African Association, has an estimated population of thirty millions. King Leopold of Belgium is the head of the state, whose independence and sovereignty have been recognized by the United States and most of the governments of Europe. The state is not nominally a Belgian colony; it is (at the present time, 1906) merely an appanage of the Belgian crown.

their independence by the end of the nineteenth century were Abyssinia, Morocco,³ and the negro republic of Liberia.

This transference of the control of the affairs of Africa from the hands of its native inhabitants or those of Asiatic Mohammedan intruders to the hands of Europeans is without question the most momentous transaction in the history of that continent, and one which must shape its future destiny. In the following sections of this chapter, in which we propose briefly to rehearse the part which each of the leading European states has taken in the general expansion movement, we shall speak of the part which each played in the partition of Africa and tell what each secured.

II. THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND

559. England in America; the Dominion of Canada. — The separation of the thirteen American colonies from England in 1776 (sec. 410) seemed to give a fatal blow to English hopes of establishing a great colonial empire in America. But half of North America still remained in English hands. Gradually the attractions of British North America as a dwelling place for settlers of European stock became known. Immigration, mostly from the British Isles, increased in volume, so that the population rose from about a quarter of a million at the opening of the nineteenth century to over five millions at its close. One of the most important matters in the political history of Canada since the country passed under English rule is the granting of responsible government to the provinces in 1841.⁴ This concession of complete self-government was followed, in 1867, by the union of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in a federal state under the name of the Dominion of Canada. Later the confederation was joined by British Columbia, Prince Edward

³ France desires, and thinks she should be accorded the right, to constitute herself Morocco's warden. At the present writing (March, 1906), this matter is the subject of a serious conference between France and Germany.

⁴ The treaty-making power and matters of peace and war are still in the hands of the English government.

Island, and other provinces. Newfoundland has steadily refused to join the union.

The political union of the provinces made possible the successful accomplishment of one of the great engineering undertakings of our age. This was the construction of a transcontinental railroad from Montreal to Vancouver. This road has done for the confirming of the federal union and for the industrial development of the Dominion what the building of similar transcontinental lines has done for the United States.

By reason of its vast geographical extent, — its area is more than thirty-five times as great as that of the British Isles, — its inexhaustible mineral deposits, its unrivaled fisheries, its limitless forests, grazing lands, and wheat fields, its bracing climate, and above all its free institutions, the Dominion of Canada seems marked out to be one of the great future homes of the Anglo-Saxon race. What the United States now is, the Dominion seems destined at a time not very remote to become.

560. England in Australasia ;⁶ the Proclamation of the Commonwealth of Australia (1901). — About the time that England lost her American colonies the celebrated navigator Captain Cook reached and explored the shores of New Zealand and Australia (1769–1771). Disregarding the claims of earlier visitors to these lands, he took possession of the islands for the British crown.

The best use which England could at first think to put the new lands was to make them a place of exile for criminals. The first shipload of convicts was landed at Botany Bay in Australia in 1788. But the agricultural riches of the new lands, their adaptability to stock raising, and the healthfulness of the climate soon drew to them a stream of English immigrants. In 1851 came the announcement of the discovery of fabulously rich deposits of gold, and then set in a tide of immigration such as

⁶ Australasia, meaning "south land of Asia," is the name under which Australia and New Zealand are comprehended. Here, as in South Africa, in Canada, and in India, England appeared late on the ground. The Spaniards and the Dutch had both preceded her. The presence of the Dutch is witnessed by the names New Holland (the earlier name of Australia) and New Zealand attaching to the greater islands.

the world has seldom seen. Before the close of the century five flourishing colonies (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and West Australia), with an aggregate population, including that of the neighboring island of Tasmania, of almost four millions, had grown up along the fertile rim of the Australian continent and had developed free institutions similar to those of the mother country.

The great political event in the history of these colonies was their consolidation, just at the opening of the twentieth century, into the Commonwealth of Australia, a federal union like our own.

The vast possibilities of the future of this new Anglo-Saxon commonwealth in the South Pacific has impressed in an unwonted way the imagination of the world. It is possible that in the coming periods of history this new Britain will hold some such place in the Pacific as the mother land now holds in the Atlantic.

561. England in Asia. — We have noted the founding of the British Empire in India (sec. 409). Throughout the nineteenth century England steadily advanced the frontiers of her dominions here and consolidated her power until by the close of the century she had brought either under her direct rule or under her suzerainty almost three hundred millions of Asiatics,⁶ — the largest number of human beings, so far as history knows, ever united under a single scepter.

We must here note how England's occupation of India and her large interests in the trade of Southern and Eastern Asia involved her during the century in several wars and shaped in great measure her foreign policies. One of the earliest of these wars was that known as the Afghan War of 1838–1842, into which she was drawn through her jealousy of Russia.⁷

⁶ By the census of 1901 the population of the British Indian Empire (this includes the feudatory states) was 294,461,056.

⁷ England's endeavor here was to maintain Afghanistan as a buffer state between her Indian possessions and the expanding Russian Empire. The war was marked by a great tragedy, — the virtual annihilation in the wild mountain passes leading from India to Afghanistan of an Anglo-Indian army of 16,000 men. There was a second Afghan War in 1879–1880.

At the same time England became involved in the so-called Opium War with China⁸ (1839-1842). As a result of this war England obtained by cession from China the island and port of Hongkong, which she has made one of the most important commercial and naval stations of the world.

Scarcely was the Opium War ended before England was involved in a gigantic struggle with Russia, — the Crimean War, already spoken of in connection with Russian history (sec. 1019). From our present standpoint we can better understand why England threw herself into the conflict on the side of Turkey. She fought to prevent Russia from getting through the Bosphorus to the Mediterranean and thus endangering her route to her Eastern possessions.

The echoes of the Crimean War had barely died away before England was startled by the most alarming intelligence from the country for the secure possession of which English soldiers had borne their part in the fierce struggle before Sevastopol. In 1857 there broke out in the armies of the East India Company what is known as the Sepoy Mutiny. Fortunately many of the native regiments stood firm in their allegiance to England, and with their aid the revolt was speedily crushed. As a consequence of the mutiny the government of India was by act of Parliament taken out of the hands of the East India Company and vested in the English crown.

There are without question offsets to the indisputably good results of English rule in India; nevertheless it is one of the most important facts of modern history, and one of special import as bearing on our present study, that nearly three hundred millions of the population of Asia should thus have passed, whether for better or for worse, under the rule and wardship of a European nation.

⁸ The opium traffic between India and China had grown into gigantic proportions and had become a source of wealth to the British merchants and of revenue to the Indian government. The Chinese government, however, awake to the evils of the growing use of the narcotic, resisted the importation of the drug. This was the cause of the war. The Chinese government was compelled to acquiesce in the continuance of the nefarious traffic.

562. England in South Africa; Boer and Briton. — England has played a great part in the partition of Africa, and as usual has got the lion's share of the spoils, not as to the size of her portion but as to its real value. Her first appearance upon the continent, both in Egypt and at the Cape, was brought about through her solicitude for her East India possessions and the security of her routes thither. Later she joined in the scramble of European powers for African territories for their own sake.

The Dutch had preceded the English in South Africa. They began their settlement at the Cape about the middle of the seventeenth century, in the great days of Holland. During the French Revolution and again during Napoleon's ascendancy the English took the Dutch colony under their protection. After the downfall of Napoleon in 1814 the colony was ceded to England by the Netherlands.⁹

The Dutch settlers refused to become reconciled to the English rule. In 1836 a large number of these aggrieved colonists took the heroic resolve of abandoning their old homes and going out into the African wilderness in search of new ones. This migration is known as "The Great Trek."¹⁰ Beyond the Orange River some of the immigrants unyoked their oxen and set up homes, laying there the basis of the Orange Free State; the more intrepid "trekked" still farther to the north, across the Vaal River, and established the republic of the Transvaal.

Two generations passed, a period filled for the little republics, surrounded by hostile African tribes, with anxieties and fighting. Then there came a turning point in their history. In the year 1885 gold deposits of extraordinary richness were discovered in the Transvaal. Straightway there began a tremendous inrush of miners and adventurers from all parts of the globe.

A great portion of these newcomers were English-speaking people. As aliens — *Uitlanders*, "outlanders," they were called

⁹ After the loss of the Cape Settlement the island of Java was the most important colonial possession remaining to the Dutch. Gradually they got possession of the greater part of the large island of Sumatra. These two islands form the heart of the Dutch East Indies of to-day, which embrace a native population of about 36,000,000.

¹⁰ *Trek* is Dutch for "migration" or "journey."

— they were excluded from any share in the government, although they made up two thirds of the population of the little state and paid the greater part of the taxes. They demanded the franchise. The Boers, under the lead of the sturdy President of the Transvaal, Paul Krüger, refused to accede to their demands, urging that this would mean practically the surrender of the independence of the republic and its annexation to the British Empire.

The controversy grew more and more bitter and soon ripened into war between England and the Transvaal (1899). The Orange Free State joined its little army to that of its sister state.¹¹ After the maintenance of the struggle for over two years the last of the Boer bands surrendered to the English (1902). As the outcome of the war both of the republics were annexed to the British Empire under the names of the Transvaal Colony and Orange River Colony.

These new acquisitions, taken in connection with Cape Colony, Natal, and the various protectorates and dependencies which England has established in West, East, and Central Africa, form a vast empire, a considerable portion of which is well suited to European settlement.

A political ideal of English statesmen is the union of all the English and Anglo-Dutch colonies and states of South Africa into a great federation like the Canadian and Australian. This was a favorite project of the late South African statesman, Cecil Rhodes, one of the most masterful men of his generation. Such a federation must be the ultimate destiny of these colonies; and if only the present bitter antagonism between Boer and Briton dies away here, as the once like antagonism between French and Briton has died away in Canada, such a federal state could not fail of having a great future.

Another important project of the English is the building of a Cape-to-Cairo railroad. The projected line has already (1906) been carried northward from Cape Town about two thousand miles, to

¹¹ The total European or white population of the two little republics that thus threw down the gage of battle to the most powerful empire of modern times was only a little over 300,000.

and beyond the celebrated Victoria Falls on the Zambesi ; while at the other end of the continent the road has been pushed up the Nile from Cairo to Khartum, a distance of over thirteen hundred miles (including a little over two hundred miles of river navigation above Assuan). This railway when completed, as it without doubt will be at no very remote date, will be a potent factor in the opening up of the Dark Continent to civilization.

563. England in Egypt. — In 1876 England and France established what was in effect a dual protectorate over Egypt in order to secure against loss their subjects who were holders of Egyptian bonds.¹² Six years later, in 1882, there broke out in the Egyptian army a mutiny against the authority of the Khedive. France declining to act with England in suppressing the disorder, England moved alone in the matter. The result of her intervention was the establishment of an English protectorate over the country.

No part of the world has benefited more by European control than Egypt. When England assumed the administration of its affairs it was in every respect one of the most wretched of the lands under the rule, actual or nominal, of the Turkish Sultan. The country is now, according to the claims of eminent English authority, more prosperous than at any previous period of its history, not excepting the time of the rule of the Pharaohs. This high degree of prosperity has been secured mainly through England's having given Egypt the two things declared necessary to its prosperity, — "justice and water."

The construction of the great irrigation or storage dam across the Nile at the First Cataract (at Assuan) is one of the greatest engineering achievements of modern times. The dam retains the surplus waters of the Nile in flood times and releases them gradually during the months of low water. This constant supply of water for irrigation purposes will, it is estimated, increase by a third the agricultural capabilities of Egypt.

¹² Egypt was at that time and still is nominally an hereditary principality under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Porte. Practically it was then an independent state and now is virtually a part of the British Empire ; for no one doubts that the present English protectorate will in time be converted into absolute dominion.

III. THE EXPANSION OF FRANCE

564. *France in Africa.* — At the opening of the nineteenth century France possessed only fragments of a once promising colonial empire. When finally she began to look about her for over-the-sea territories to make good her losses in America and Asia, it was the North African shore which on account of proximity, climate, and products naturally attracted her attention. In ancient times this region was one of the richest grain-tribute-paying provinces of the Roman Empire. Its climate is favorable for Latin-European settlement. It is really geographically a part of Europe, "the true Africa beginning with the Sahara."

France began the conquest of Algeria as early as 1830. The subjugation of the country was not effected without much hard fighting with the native tribes. In the year 1881, under the pretext of defending her Algerian frontier against the raids of the mountain tribes of Tunis on the east, France established a protectorate over that country. This act of hers deeply offended the Italians, who had had their eye upon this district, regarding it as belonging to them by virtue of its geographical position as well as its historical traditions.¹⁸

These North African territories form the most promising portion of France's new colonial empire. The more sanguine of her statesmen entertain hopes of ultimately creating here a new home for the French people, — a sort of New France. In any event it seems certain that all these shore lands, which in the seventh century were severed from Europe by the Arabian conquests, are now again permanently reunited to that continent and are henceforth to constitute virtually a part of the European world.

¹⁸ Disappointed in not getting Tunis, the Italians sought to secure a foothold on the Red Sea coast. They seized here a district and organized it under the name of the Colony of Eritrea; but they had hard luck almost from the first. The coast is hot and unhealthy and inland is the kingdom of Abyssinia. Over this the Italians attempted to establish a protectorate; but unfortunately for them Abyssinia does not regard herself as one of the uncivilized or moribund states over which it is necessary for Europeans to extend their protection. King Menelik of that country inflicted upon the Italian army a most disastrous defeat (1896). Since then the Italians have done very little in the way of developing their African possessions.

Besides these lands in North Africa, France possesses a vast domain in the region of the Senegal and lays claim to all the Sahara lying between her colony of Senegal and Algeria. She also holds extensive territories just north of the Congo Free State, embracing part of Central Sudan. The island of Madagascar also forms a part of the French-African empire.

565. France in Asia.— In the year 1862 France secured a foothold near the mouth of the Cambodia River in Indo-China and has since then steadily enlarged her possessions, until now she holds in those quarters territories which exceed in extent the home land. A chief aim of the French in this region is to secure the trade of Southern China. To this end they are projecting the extension northward into China of the system of railways they have already constructed.

With these ample African and Asiatic territories France feels in a measure consoled for her losses in the past, and dreams of a brilliant career as one of the great colonizing powers of Europe. France has, however, one great handicap as a colonizing state. She has not, what both England and Germany have, a rapidly increasing population at home. Nor have her citizens that restless, adventurous spirit of the Anglo-Saxons which has driven them as conquerors and settlers into the remotest parts of the earth and made England the mother of innumerable colonies and states.

IV. THE EXPANSION OF GERMANY

566. German Emigrants Lost to Germany.— No country of Europe during the expansion movement we are tracing has supplied a greater number of emigrants for the settlement of trans-oceanic lands than Germany. But Germany has not until recently possessed under her own flag any over-the-sea territories, and consequently, although she has sent out vast swarms of emigrants, no true Greater Germany has grown up outside of Europe.

Stimulated by the patriotic war of 1870-1871 against France, and the consolidation of the German Empire, German statesmen began to dream of making Germany a world power. To this end

it was deemed necessary to secure for Germany colonies where the German emigrants might live under the German flag and, instead of contributing to the growth and prosperity of rival states, should remain Germans and constitute a part of the German nation.

567. Germany in Africa. — Consequently when the competition came for African territory Germany entered into the struggle with great zeal and got a fair share of the spoils. In 1884 she declared a protectorate over a large region on the southwest coast of the continent just north of the Orange River, and thus lying partly in the temperate zone. This region she has opened up to civilization by the construction of a railroad over two hundred and thirty miles in length running from the west coast inland.

At almost the same time she established two smaller protectorates in the tropic belt farther to the north. On the East African coast she seized a great territory, twice as large as Germany itself, embracing a part of the celebrated Lake District. These upland regions are well adapted to European settlement and must in time be filled by people of European descent.

568. Germany in Asia. — The hopes of many German expansionists are centered in Western Asia rather than in Africa. Thousands of Germans have crowded into Asia Minor and Syria and have come to form in some districts an important element of the industrial and trading population. Certainly, if the present process of the Germanization of those regions continues, it is not at all unlikely that a large part of Western Asia will come eventually into some such relation to Germany as Egypt now sustains to England.

One of the most important projects of the Germans in these Asian regions is the extension of the Anatolian Railway, now under German control, from Eregli in Asia Minor over the Taurus Mountains, across the Mesopotamian plains, and down the Tigris-Euphrates valley to the head of the Persian Gulf. Such a line, besides providing a new and shorter route to India, — the route used by the ancient peoples, — would open up to civilization the wonderfully fertile regions which formed the heart of the early and populous empires of Assyria and Babylonia. The restoration

of these lands from their present artificial sterility would give back to mankind some of the choicest portions of their heritage, long given over to desolation and neglect.¹⁴

German expansion presses not only on the Turkish Empire but also upon the Chinese Empire. In 1897 Germany, on the pretext of protecting German missionaries in China, seized the port of Kiau-chau and forced its practical cession from the Chinese government. The German government aims to make this colony a true German settlement and the outgoing point of German power and influence in the Far East.

V. THE EXPANSION OF RUSSIA

569. Russian Expansion in Asia. — The expansion of Russia is one of the most striking features of the great European development which we are following. This outward movement has put her in possession of about one seventh of the habitable earth.

Russia made no material territorial gains in Europe, aside from the acquisition of Finland and part of Prussian Poland, during the nineteenth century, although, as we have seen, she fought in three great wars for this end and shattered into fragments the Turkish Empire; which lay between her and the goal of her ambition, — Constantinople. But in Asia the additions which, during this period, she made to her empire were immense in extent. By the middle of the century she had absorbed a great part of the Caucasus region, encroaching here upon both Persia and Turkey in Asia. During the latter half of the century she steadily pushed forward her boundaries in Central Asia. She conquered or conciliated the tribes of Turkestan and advanced her frontier in this quarter far towards the south, — close up against Afghanistan. In the very heart of the continent

¹⁴ Along with this railway project is being discussed a proposal for the restoration of the ancient irrigation works of the Tigris and Euphrates region. It is estimated by Sir William Willcocks that \$100,000,000 expended in the restoration of the irrigation system of the ancient Babylonians would bring a return of at least \$300,000,000. What has already been done for Egypt by the building of the great storage Nile dam at Assuan will almost certainly at no remote date be repeated here in what was formerly the "Asian Egypt."

her outposts are now established upon the lofty table-lands of the Pamirs, the "Roof of the World." Here her frontier and that of the British Empire are only twenty miles apart. In the extreme eastern part of Asia she obtained from China, under circumstances which will be explained a little farther on (sec. 577), the lease of Port Arthur, one of the most important Asiatic harbors on the Pacific, and occupied the large Chinese province of Manchuria, which occupation it was generally believed would end in the actual annexation of that magnificent domain to the Russian Empire.

Thus by the end of the century Russia in her expansion had not only subjugated the nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes of Central Asia, but had also won territories from the three semi-civilized states of the continent, Turkey, Persia, and China, and was crowding heavily upon all those countries.

570. The Trans-Siberian Railway. — Russia's most noteworthy undertaking during the nineteenth century in connection with her Asiatic empire was the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which now unites St. Petersburg with the Pacific ports of Vladivostok and Port Arthur. The construction of this road has made accessible to Russian settlers the vast fertile regions of Southern Siberia, and will soon render that country a part of the civilized world ; for though it may be true as to the past that "civilization has come riding on a gun carriage," now it comes riding on a locomotive.

VI. THE EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

571. The Growth of the United States a Part of the Great European Expansion Movement. — At first view it might seem that the growth of our own country should not be given a place in the present chapter. But the expansion of the United States is as truly a part of European expansion as is the increase of the English race in Canada, or in Australasia, or in South Africa. The circumstance that the development here has taken place since the severance of all political ties binding this country to the

mother land is wholly immaterial. The Canadian, Australian, and African developments have as a matter of fact been expansion movements from practically secondary and independent centers of European settlement.

Hence to complete our survey of the movement which has put in possession or in control of the European peoples so much of the earth, we must note — we can simply note — the expansion during the past century of the great American Commonwealth.

572. How the Territorial Acquisitions of the United States and its Growth in Population have contributed to assure the Predominance of the Anglo-Saxon Race in Greater Europe. — Six times during the nineteenth century the United States materially enlarged her borders.¹⁵ These gains in territory were in the main at the expense of a Latin race, — the Spanish. They have not therefore resulted in an actual increase in the possessions of the European peoples, but have simply contributed to the predominance, or have marked the growing predominance, in this new-forming European world of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Of even greater significance than the territorial expansion of the United States during the past century is the amazing growth of the Republic during this period in population and in material and intellectual resources. At the opening of the century the white population of the United States was a little over four millions; at the end of the century it had risen to over sixty-seven millions. This is the largest aggregate of human force and intelligence that the world has yet seen. Even more impressive than its actual are its potential capacities. With practically unlimited room for expansion, it is impossible adequately to realize into what, during the coming centuries, the American people will grow.

This remarkable growth of an English-speaking nation on the soil of the New World has contributed more than anything else, save the expansion of Great Britain into Greater Britain, to lend impressiveness and import to the movement indicated by the expression, "European expansion."

¹⁵ The last enlargement was in 1898, when the United States, as an outcome of a war with Spain, acquired Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands.

VII. CHECK TO EUROPEAN EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION
IN EASTERN ASIA

573. Shall China be partitioned? — Before the close of the nineteenth century the outward movement of the European peoples, which we have now traced in broad outlines, had created a great crisis in the life of the peoples of the Far East. It had imperiled the independence of one of the great races of mankind, the yellow race, comprising perhaps one third of the population of the earth. It had raised the questions, Shall China be partitioned? Shall the Mongolian peoples of the Far East be dominated and their destinies shaped by the European powers? An unexpected answer to these questions was given by Japan.

574. The Awakening of Japan. — As late as the middle of the nineteenth century Japan was a hermit nation. She jealously excluded foreigners and refused to enter into diplomatic relations with the Western powers. But in the year 1854 Commodore Perry of the United States secured from the Japanese government concessions which opened the country to Western influences, under which Japan soon awoke to a new life.

In the course of the half century following this change in Japanese policy, the progress made by Japan on all lines, political, material, and intellectual, was something without a parallel in history. She transformed her ancient feudal divine-right government into a representative constitutional system modeled upon the political institutions of the West. She adopted almost entire the material side of the civilization of the Western nations and eagerly absorbed their sciences.

But what took place, it should be carefully noted, was not a Europeanization of Japan. The new Japan was an evolution of the old. The Japanese to-day in their innermost life, in their deepest instincts, and in their modes of thought are still an Oriental people.

575. The China-Japan War of 1894; a Mongolian Monroe Doctrine. — In 1894 came the war between Japan and China. A chief cause of this war was China's claim to suzerainty over

Korea and her efforts to secure control of the affairs of that country. But under the conditions of modern warfare, and particularly in view of the Russian advance in Eastern Asia, the maintenance of Korea as an independent state seemed to Japan absolutely necessary to the security of her island empire. The situation is vividly pictured in these words of Okakura-Kakuzo, the author of *The Awakening of Japan*: "Any hostile power," he says, "in occupation of the peninsula might easily throw an army into Japan, for Korea lies like a dagger ever pointed toward the very heart of Japan."

Still again, realizing that greed of territory would lead the European powers sooner or later to seek the partition of China and the political control of the Mongolian lands of the Far East, Japan wished to stir China from her lethargy, make herself her adviser and leader, and thus get in a position to control the affairs of Eastern Asia. In a word she was resolved to set up a sort of Monroe Doctrine in her part of the world, which should close Mongolian lands against European encroachments and preserve for Asiatics what was still left of Asia.

The war was short and decisive. It was a fight between David and Goliath. China with her great inert mass was absolutely helpless in the hands of her tiny antagonist. With the Japanese army in full march upon Peking, the Chinese government was forced to sue for peace. China now recognized the independence of Korea, and ceded to Japan Formosa and the extreme southern part of Manchuria, including Port Arthur. But at this juncture of affairs Russia, supported by France and Germany, jealously intervened. These powers forced Japan to accept a money indemnity in lieu of territory on the continent. She was permitted, however, to take possession of the island of Formosa.

576. China in Process of Dismemberment; the Boxer Uprising (1900).— The march of the little Japanese army into the heart of the huge Chinese Empire was in its consequences something like the famous march of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the great Persian Empire. It revealed the surprising weakness of China, — a fact known before to all the world, but never so



perfectly realized as after the Japanese exploit, — and marked her out for partition. The process of dismemberment began without unnecessary delay. Germany, Russia, England, and France each demanded and received from China the cession or lease of a port. The press in Europe and America began openly to discuss the impending partition of the Chinese Empire and to speculate as to how the spoils would be divided.

Suddenly the whole Western world was startled by the intelligence that the legations, or embassies, of all the European powers at Peking were hemmed in and besieged by a Chinese mob aided by the imperial troops. Then quickly followed a report of the massacre of all the Europeans in the city.

Strenuous efforts were at once made by the different Western nations, as well as by Japan, to send an international force to the rescue of their representatives and the missionaries and other Europeans with them, should it chance that any were still alive. Not since the Crusades had so many European nations joined in a common undertaking. There were in the relief army Russian, French, English, American, and German troops, besides a strong Japanese contingent. The relief column fought its way through to Peking and forced the gates of the capital. The worst had not happened, and soon the tension of the Western world, which had lasted for six weeks, was relieved by the glad news of the rescue of the beleaguered little company of Europeans.

All which it concerns us now to notice is the place which this remarkable passage in Chinese history holds in the story of European expansion which we have been rehearsing. The point of view to which our study has brought us discloses this at once.

The insurrection had at bottom for its cause the determination of the Chinese to set a limit to the encroachments of the Western races, to prevent the dismemberment of their country, to preserve China for the Chinese. All the various causes that have been assigned for the uprising are included in this general underlying cause.

577. The Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). — Early in the year 1904 war opened between Japan and Russia. Respecting

the profound cause of this conflict, little need be added to what has already been said in the preceding paragraphs. Soon after Russia had forced Japan to give up Port Arthur and the territory in Manchuria ceded to her by the terms of the treaty with China after the Chino-Japanese War of 1894 (sec. 575), she



FIG. 60. — FIELD MARSHAL OYAMA. (From a stereograph; copyright, 1904, by the H. C. White Company, New York)

herself secured from China a lease of the most "strategic portion" of this same territory (1898), and straightway proceeded to transform Port Arthur into a great naval and military fortress, which was to be the Gibraltar of the East. Moreover she occupied the whole of the great Chinese province of Manchuria. Notwithstanding she had given solemn pledges that the occupation of this territory should be only temporary, she not only violated these pledges but made it evident by her acts that she intended, besides making Manchuria a part of the Russian Empire, also to seize Korea. But Russian control of this stretch of seaboard and command of the Eastern seas meant that Japan would be hemmed in by a perpetual blockade and her existence as an independent nation imperiled. It would place her destiny in the hands of Russia. Japan could not accept this fate, and drew the sword.

The sanguinary war was signalized by an unbroken series of astonishing victories for the Japanese on land and on sea. They assumed practical control of Korea, and under Field Marshal Oyama wrested from the Russian armies under Kuropatkin the

southernmost portion of Manchuria. Port Arthur, after one of the longest and most memorable sieges of modern times, was forced to capitulate.¹⁶

The strong Russian fleet in the Eastern waters at the beginning of hostilities was virtually destroyed.¹⁷ A second great fleet sent out from the Baltic Sea was met in the Korean Straits by the Japanese fleet under Admiral Togo, and the greater part of the ships were sunk or captured.¹⁸ This was Japan's Salamis.¹⁹

Through the mediation of President Roosevelt peace envoys of Russia and Japan were now brought together at Portsmouth, in the United States, and the war was ended by what will be known in history as the Peace of Portsmouth.²⁰

The ultimate consequences of the war for the nations engaged and for civilization cannot yet be estimated ; but it seems certain that the final results will be more momentous and far-reaching than those of any other conflict of races recorded in modern history. One result is already assured The war has not only safeguarded Japan's national existence but has also insured the territorial integrity of China. In a word, it has set limits to European encroachments in Eastern Asia and put in the hands of the Mongol peoples whose independence has been imperiled the shaping of their own lives and destinies. The entrance of these peoples, under the inspiring leadership of Japan, into the great family of free, self-governed, and progressive nations means the shifting of the center of gravity of the world.²¹

¹⁶ January 11, 1905. The siege was conducted by General Nogi and Admiral Togo; the defense of the place was made by General Stoessel.

¹⁷ February 25-March 12, 1905, was fought the great battle of Mukden, in which the Japanese were victors.

¹⁸ May 28, 1905. The Russian fleet was commanded by Admiral Rojestvensky.

¹⁹ Compare secs. 181 and 753.

²⁰ The treaty was signed September 5, 1905. Among the important articles of this treaty are the following: (1) Permission to Japan to make Korea her ward; (2) the evacuation of Manchuria by both the Russians and the Japanese; (3) the transfer to Japan by Russia of all her rights at Port Arthur and Dalny; (4) the division of the Manchurian railway between Japan and Russia; (5) the cession by Russia to Japan of the southern part of the island of Saghalien.

²¹ For the influence of the war upon Liberalism in Russia, see sec. 555.

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CHAPTER XLI

THE WORLD STATE

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw a Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be ;

Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.— TENNYSON.

578. Introductory. — “ It is a favorite maxim of mine,” writes Professor Seeley in his *Expansion of England*, “ that history, while it should be scientific in its method, should pursue a practical object. That is, it should not merely gratify the reader’s curiosity about the past but modify his view of the present and his forecast of the future. Now if this maxim be sound, the history of England ought to end with something that might be called a moral. Some large conclusion ought to arise out of it ; it ought to exhibit the general tendency of English affairs in such a way as to set us thinking about the future and divining the destiny which is reserved for us.”

The inspiring destiny for England which Professor Seeley reads in her past and present history is Imperial Federation, — that is, a great federal union embracing the mother land and her colonies, organized after the model of the United States of America.

Professor Seeley’s maxim must needs be applied to universal history if its study is to issue in anything really worthy and practical. We must try to discover the tendency of the historic evolution, to discern the set of the current of world events, and to divine the destiny reserved for the human race. Only thus shall we be able to form practical ideals for humanity and strive intelligently and hopefully for their realization.

579. From the Clan State to the Federal State. — Now there is no tendency in universal history, broadly viewed, more manifest than the tendency toward world unity. First it was the clan,

then the tribe, then the city-state, and then the nation states¹ of modern times. And just now among these great nation states a state of a new type has arisen, — the federal state, of which our Union, consisting of forty-five states, is the model. Constituted “in the image and likeness” of this are the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Swiss Confederation, and the new German Empire. So characteristic a feature, indeed, of the political life of the present is this federation movement, that ours has been called the Federal Age.

The significant thing about this federal movement is that the natural and logical issue of national federalism is international federalism. The United States of America foreshadows the United States of Europe. The obstacles in the way of such a federation of the European nations are not so great as those which, scarcely more than a generation ago, seemed to render chimerical all attempts to build up unified nations out of the discordant elements existing, for example, in Italy and in Germany.

580. Preparations in Different Domains for the World State. — And, in truth, during the last century, in different realms, the conditions precedent of a great federation of all the nations of the earth have been supplied by humanity's advance and achievements. In the political realm all that the age-spirit has accomplished would seem to have for its ultimate aim the preparing of the way for international federation. More than a century ago Immanuel Kant, in his essay on *Perpetual Peace*, affirmed that a prerequisite for the federation of the world was the establishment by all the nations of representative government. If we recall what the union of the autocratic governments of Europe in the Holy Alliance meant (sec. 497), we shall understand Kant. A world union of despotic governments would be the tomb of liberty, individual and national, — a world-wide Russian despotism.

When Kant wrote his plea for peace, autocratic government prevailed almost everywhere in Europe. We have seen how, during the century which has passed since then, the Democratic

¹ We disregard purely artificial unions, unions created and maintained by force, such as the Roman Empire.

Revolution has established, or is establishing, representative government in all the Christian states of the continent. Furthermore, in all the progressive nations outside of Europe — in the United States, in Canada, in Australia, in Japan — the management of public affairs is in the hands of the people. Thus has the first prerequisite of the Universal State been supplied in the case of almost all the great nations and communities of the civilized world.

A second significant preparation in the political realm for the world union is federalism. This supplies the principle which may be applied to the organization of the world without danger to the principle of home rule and legitimate national freedom ; for it deprives the uniting states, as exemplified in our own Union, of nothing save that "lawless freedom" which they now use to do one another hurt and harm.

While the basis of a World State has thus been laid in the political domain through the incoming of democracy and federalism, an equally important preparation for the permanent organization of the world has been made in the moral realm. Throughout the last century the sentiment of the brotherhood of man has been greatly deepened and strengthened. This new moral sentiment constitutes a force which is working irresistibly in the interest of a world union based on international amity and good will.

It is most significant that at the same time that these movements towards world unity have characterized progress in the political and moral realms, wonderful discoveries and inventions in the physical domain — the steam railway, the steamship, the telegraph, the telephone, wireless telegraphy, and a hundred others — have brought the once isolated nations close alongside one another and have made easily possible, in truth made necessary, the formation of the world union.

581. The Interparliamentary Union. — One of the most important of the agencies at work for international organization is what is known as the Interparliamentary Union. This is an association made up exclusively of members of national legislatures or parliaments. Its membership now (1906) numbers more than two thousand. Because of the noble character of the men composing this



FIG. 61. — "THE CHRIST OF THE ANDES."² (From a photograph; courtesy of Señora Carolina Huidobro)

"Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust, than Argentines and Chilians break the peace which at the feet of Christ the Redeemer they have sworn to maintain." — *Inscription on Monument*

international society, as well as because of their connection with the practical work of legislation in the different states, this body is the most influential of the agencies now working for the organization of the world.

582. **The International Peace Conference at The Hague and the Establishment of the International Court of Arbitration (1899).** — Already more has been accomplished in the way of the actual creation of the machinery of a World State than is generally realized. Just as the nineteenth century was closing the Tsar Nicholas surprised the world by proposing to all the governments having representatives at the Russian court the meeting of a conference "to consider means of insuring the general peace of the world and of putting a limit to the progressive increase of armaments which weigh upon all nations."

All the governments addressed accepted the proposal, and in

² In 1903 the South American republics of Chile and Argentina, having happily settled by arbitration a long-standing boundary controversy which threatened to involve the two countries in war, mutually bound themselves by treaty to reduce their military and naval armaments and for a stated period to submit every matter of dispute arising between them to arbitration. Upon one of the highest boundary ranges of the Andes the two nations have erected a colossal bronze statue of Christ as the sacred guardian of the peace to which they are pledged. The statue was unveiled March 13, 1904.

1899 the convention met at The Hague in the Netherlands. The most important outcome of the deliberations of the body was the establishment of a permanent International Court of Arbitration to which all nations may have recourse for the settlement of interstate disputes. Since the creation of the court several cases have been referred to it and amicably settled.

The formation of this International Court is a most noteworthy event. In the words of a recent writer, "It may be possible that looking back a hundred years from now it will be seen that its establishment was the most important single event of modern times." It brings measurably nearer the time when the barbarous wager of battle between nations shall have become such a tradition of an outgrown past as is now the old wager of battle between individuals. Andrew Carnegie, recognizing the import of the work of the convention for the peace of the world, has made a gift of \$1,500,000 for the erection at The Hague of a permanent home for the court,—what is to be known as The Temple of Peace.

583. The Call for a Second International Conference and the Proposed Creation of a Stated World Congress, or Parliament.—In the fall of the year 1904 the President of the United States invited the governments of the world to send delegates to a second International Conference. One of the matters which the friends of the movement propose shall be given a prominent place on the programme of the meeting is "the advisability of establishing an International Congress to convene periodically for the discussion of international questions." The assembling of the conference will probably take place some time during the coming year (1907).

It is a reasonable hope that the deliberations of the proposed meeting may result in the establishment of an International Congress, necessarily with only advisory powers at first, but which, like the Congress of our Confederation of 1781, may in due time grow into a true legislative body, competent to deal with all affairs of international concern. If such should be the outcome of this projected conference, then will the second great step have been

taken in the formation of the World State, and hopeful advance made in the establishment among the nations of the conditions of permanent peace.

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INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

NOTE.—In the case of words whose correct pronunciation has not seemed to be clearly indicated by their accentuation and syllabication, the sounds of the letters have been denoted thus: *ā*, like *a* in *grāy*; *ā̄*, like *ā*, only less prolonged; *ǎ*, like *a* in *hǎve*; *ä*, like *a* in *fär*; *ǻ*, like *a* in *all*; *ē*, like *ee* in *meet*; *ē̄*, like *ē*, only less prolonged; *ě*, like *e* in *ěnd*; *ê*, like *e* in *thère*; *ē̄*, like *e* in *err*; *ī*, like *i* in *pīne*; *ī̄*, like *i* in *pīn*; *ō*, like *o* in *nôte*; *ō̄*, like *ō*, only less prolonged; *ö*, like *o* in *nöt*; *ô*, like *o* in *örb*; *ōō*, like *oo* in *mōon*; *ū*, like *u* in *ūse*; *ū̄*, like the French *u*; *c* and *ch*, like *k*; *ç*, like *s*; *g̃*, like *g* in *gēt*; *g̃*, like *j*; *g̃*, like *z*; *ch*, as in German *ach*; *G*, small capital, as in German *Hamburg*; *ñ*, like *ni* in *minion*; *ñ* denotes the nasal sound in French, being similar to *ng* in *song*.

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